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This work was first published 1677
For sketch of the life of the Author see
Barber's Historical collections (Massa-
chusetts) page 193 and also Al-
len's Biographical Dictionary page 474

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A
NARRATIVE OF THE
INDIAN WARS

IN NEW-ENGLAND,
FROM THE FIRST PLANTING THERE.
OF, IN THE YEAR 1607, TO
THE YEAR 1677.

CONTAINING
THE OCCASION, RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE WAR WITH THE INDIANS,
IN THE SOUTHERN, WESTERN,
EASTERN AND NORTHERN PARTS
OF SAID COUNTRY.

BY WILLIAM HUBBARD, A. M.



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And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a Memorial in a Book.— EXOD. XVII. 14.

Which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. That the generation to come might know them, even the children which shall be born: Who should arise and declare them to their children.— PSAL. LXXVIII.

THE following Narrative of the INDIAN WARS, was published by authority, in the Years 1677, as appears by the following recommendation prefixed to the Edition then published, viz.

The worthy Author of this Narrative (of whose fidelity we are well assured) by his great pains and industry, in collecting and compiling the several occurrences of this Indian War, from the relations of such as were present in the particular actions, has faithfully, and truly performed the same, as far as best information agreeing could be obtained, which is therefore judged meet for public view; and we whose names are underwritten, deputed by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Colony, to peruse, and licence the same, have, and do accordingly order it to be printed, as being of public benefit, and judge the Author to have deserved due acknowledgement and thanks for the same.

Boston, March 29,
1677.

} SIMON BRADSTREET,
DANIEL DENNISON,
JOSEPH DUDLEY.

P R E F A C E.

THE gracious hand of Divine Providence in the preservation of the New-England Colonies in their infant state, gloriously appears, from the facts briefly, but faithfully transmitted down to us, by one of our venerable forefathers in the following Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New-England, a very numerous and barbarous people, dispersed through the wilderness in every part of the land.

These Savages began a war with the first English Adventurers, while they were few in number, yea very few, and strangers in the land. This rendered their deliverance an event truly great and memorable.

They were saved indeed, as by fire: Their loss of men and substance, compared with their numbers and ability, was very great, and long severely felt.

Heavy as the public expences were to support the War, these were but a very inconsiderable part of the burdens and charges to which particular towns, families and individuals were necessarily subjected, in guards, garrisons, and watchings in their own defence.

The whole country was the seat of War, and every man procured his bread in jeopardy of his life.

Like Nehemiah's builders, each one toiled with his weapon of war in one hand, and his instrument of labor in the other; exposed every moment to death from an unseen foe.

In the frequent alarms which spread from town to town, some escaping from danger, ran into greater

others met their own fate in attempting to relieve their neighbors in the same, or different scattered settlements.

This was the deplorable state of the New-England colonies, a very few towns excepted; a distress more easily conceived than expressed, and indeed scarcely conceivable by the greater part of the present generation, since the then hideous wilderness is become a fruitful field, and well settled towns overspread the land.

The reader unacquainted with this country in its uncultivated state, may here enquire, Why the first settlers thus exposed themselves, by making disjoined and distant settlements? Necessity led to this: The lands near the sea-coasts were generally less fertile, and found hard to subdue; therefore, for present subsistence in their feeble condition, they were obliged to seek the borders of rivers and streams, for the sake of intervals and meadows, both on account of their fertility, and of their being open and prepared for immediate improvement.

They were also encouraged in making these scattered settlements by the general and friendly disposition of the Natives, who freely sold their lands, for which a valuable consideration was paid, without exception, where a claim was made.

The Indians perceived their interest in admitting their English neighbors, as they furnished them with means of much easier subsistence; and the utmost care was taken by the several governments

of the united colonies, to prevent every occasion of distrust.

The Pequod war was confined to the westerly parts of Connecticut. [Not far from New-London.]

Phillip's War, as it is called, began in Plymouth Colony, [his head quarters were at Mount-Hope, now Bristol,] but spread through the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and province of Main, in extent about 300 miles. And within the compass of one year, the numerous tribes of Savages within the limits of New-England, were drawn into this war against us, a very few excepted.

Surely we may say, had not the Lord been on our side, when men thus rose up against us, they had quickly swallowed us up.

Our Fathers, indeed, had come out of great tribulation, into this wilderness, which, under Providence was the means of improving them in faith, fortitude and patience, to endure hardships beyond a parallel, till they obtained deliverance: And some of the first adventurers lived to see the wilderness become a fruitful field.

But this was not their intended rest: They had sublimer views: They looked for another and better country, that is a heavenly. And however they may have been misrepresented, by ignorant or ill-designing persons, they were men of whom the world was not worthy. The cruel charges of peculiar bigotry, & a persecuting spirit, wantonly alledged against them, are founded on facts not truly stated.

According to the natural course of things in this depraved and mutable state, their descendants at this day, as might be expected, have in a measure, departed from that simplicity of manners, by which their renowned ancestors were justly distinguished : But notwithstanding, it may with truth be asserted, that no instance can be produced, in the present or any age, among like numbers, where good order has so universally prevailed, as in the New-England colonies, even in populous and opulent towns, especially our CAPITAL.

We of this province, with inconsiderable intermissions, from that early period, at unknown expence and loss, have been called to defend our lives and properties against the incursions of more distant savages. Our trust has been in the name of the Lord, our fathers God and Deliver; and hitherto he has delivered us. May we never be unmindful of his signal benefits !

We are now, under the smiles of divine Providence, encreased to a multitude of people.

Our many frontier settlements are continually exposed to savage invasion : And though we trust not to our own bow ; yet, as prudence directs, we are all armed and prepared for a defensive War. And yet having the wormwood and the gall still in remembrance, no people more ardently wish and pray, that Wars may cease, and peace on earth, and good will among men, universally prevail.

Boston, May 27, 1777.

INDIAN WARS, &c.

KNOWN unto God are all his works from the foundation of the world, though manifest to us, only by the events of time, that fruitful mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at least did bring to light the knowledge of this western world, called America, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obscure and remote region, covered with a veil of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledge of all the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. To whom the honor of its investigation does of right more properly belong, is sufficiently declared by the history and reports of such as were eye-witnesses thereof, and not intended to be any part of the present disquisition. The most considerable part of all the north side of America, is called New-England. In the fertility of the soil, salubriousness of the air, and many other commodious advantages, most resembling the country whence it borrowed its appellation. For the knowledge thereof the world is most beholden to the discoveries of the English, under the conduct of Sebastian Cabot, a famous Portuguese, sent out under the commission of Henry the VIIth, about the year 1497, though since much perfected by the industry and travels of Capt's Gosnold, Hudson, Smith, and others, of the English nation. North-America, this posthumorous birth of time, is, as to its nativity, of the same standing with

her two elder sisters, Peru and Mexico, yet was suffered to lie in its swadling-clothes, one whole century of years, nature having promised no such dowry of rich mines of silver and gold to them that would espouse her for her own, as she did unto the other two, which possibly was the reason why she was not so hastily courted by her first discoverers, not yet so early secured by any of the Princes of Europe, lying wholly neglected as it were until a small company of planters, under the command of Capt. George Popham, and Gilbert, were sent over at the charge of Sir John Popham, in the year 1607, to begin a colony upon a tract of land about Sagadahoch, situated on the south side of the river of Kennebeck, and about that called Shipscot-river, and about 20 miles south-west from Pemmaquid, the most northerly bound of all New-England. But that design within two years expiring with its founder, soon after some honorable persons of the west of England, commonly called the council of Plymouth, obtained a grant by patent, under the great seal from King James, of all that part of North-America, called New-England, from the 40 to the 48 deg. of north latitude. From which grand and original patent, all other charters and grants of land from Pemmaquid to Delaware-Bay, along the sea-coast, derive their lineage and pedigree.

But whether it were by the imprudence of the first adventurers, or the dissoluteness of the persons they sent over to manage their affairs, or

whether for want of faithfulness or skill to manage their trust, they were by degrees in a manner quite deserted almost of law and government, and left to shift for themselves; by which means at least they fell under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts-Colony, not by usurpation, as is by great mistake suggested to his Majesty, but by necessity, and the earnest desire of the planters themselves; to accept of whom, those of the Massachusetts-Colony were the more easily induced; in that they apprehended the bounds of their own patent, by a favorable interpretation of the words describing the northern line (three miles beyond the most northerly branch of Merrimack-river) do reach somewhat beyond Pemmaquid, the most northerly place of all New-England.

In the year 1620, a company belonging to Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, in Holland, although they had been courteously entertained by the Dutch, as strangers sojourning amongst them, yet foreseeing many inconveniences like to increase, and that they could not so well provide for the good of their posterity, under the government of a foreign nation, they resolved to intreat so much favor from their own sovereign, King James, as to grant them liberty under the shelter of his royal authority, to place themselves in some part of New-England, then newly discovered; wherefore having obtained some kind of patent or grant, for some place about Hudson's-river, they set sail from Plymouth in Sep-

tember, for the southern parts of New-England, but as they intended to bend their course thitherward, they were at last cast upon a bosom of the south cape of the Massachusetts-Bay, called Cape-Cod, about the 11th of November, whence the winter so fast approaching they had no opportunity to remove ;— and finding some encouragement from the hopefulness of the soil, and courtesy of the heathen, they resolved there to make their abode for the future, which they did, laying the foundation of a new colony, which from the remembrance of the last town in England, they sailed from, they called New-Plymouth; containing but a small tract of land, scarce extending a hundred miles in length through the whole cape, and scarce half so much in breadth where it is broadest.

The north and south border of the Massachusetts-Bay being thus planted, the middle part was the more easy to be filled up, which was thus brought about. Some gentlemen observing how it fared with those of New-Plymouth, was desirous upon the like ground to make the same attempt for themselves, wherefore having by a considerable sum of money purchased of some gentlemen that had a grant from the council of Plymouth all their right and interest in a plantation begun in the Massachusetts-Bay, and having attained a confirmation thereof by patent from King Charles, in the year 1628, they sent over a Governor with several other persons to lay some foundation of another colony in the

Massachusetts-Bay: And in the year 1630, more of the persons interested in the said patent, with several other persons, intended to venture their lives and all with them, transported themselves and their families into the said Massachusetts, who did in a short space of time by the accession of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make such increase, that in the space of five or six years, there were twenty considerable towns built and peopled; and many of the towns first planted become so filled with inhabitants, that like swarms of bees they were ready to swarm, not only into new plantations, but into new colonies, insomuch that in the year 1635, a new colony began to be planted upon Connecticut-river, partly by combinations among themselves, removing from some towns about the Massachusetts-Bay, and partly by the interest of a patent purchased of that honourable gentleman, Mr. Fenwick, agent for the Lord Say, and Lord Brook, the proprietors of the said Connecticut-river, at the mouth of which they built a fort, (called after their own titles, Saybrook fort) commanding the passage of said river. In the year 1637, a fourth colony began to be planted, bearing the name of New-Haven, from the first town erected therein, seated near the midway betwixt Hudson river and that of Connecticut. The sea coast from the pitch of Cape-Cod, to the mouth of Connecticut-river inhabited by several nations of Indians, Wampanoogs (the first authors of the present rebellion) Naragansetts

Pequods, Mohegans, as the more inland part of the country by the Nipnets (a general name for all inland Indians betwixt the Massachusetts and Connecticut river.) The sea-coast south-west from Plymouth was first possessed by some discontented with the government of the Massachusetts colony from which some being exiled, others of their friends accompany them, settled themselves upon a fair Island to the south-west of Cape-Cod, now called Rhode-Island; others settled upon the Main, at a place called Providence, and so by degrees planting towards Narraganset-Bay, made another plantation called Warwick, which places are since by patent conferred upon the inhabitants of R. Island; the rest of the country from Pequod river to the river of Connecticut, falling within the bounds of Connecticut colony have since by patent also, been confirmed to the said colony. Things had been very prosperously and successfully carried on in all the aforesaid colonies and jurisdictions, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the war with the Pequods began. The following account of this war was either left by those that commanded in chief, or, is taken from the mouths of faithful witnesses, that were not only then present, but personally concerned and engaged in the service.

There was a nation of the Indians in the southern part of New-England, called Pequods, seated on a fair navigable river, twelve miles to the eastward of the mouth of the great and famous river

of Connecticut ; who being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the continent, and by force seized upon one of the best places near the sea, and became a terror to all their neighbors on whom they had exercised several acts of inhuman cruelty ; insomuch that being flushed with victories over their fellow Indians, they began to hanker after the blood of any foreigners, English or Dutch, that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of trade or upon other accounts.

In the year 1634, treacherously and cruelly murdered Capt. Stone, and Capt. Norton, who came occasionally with a bark into the river to trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in the like treacherous manner, slew one Mr. Oldham (formerly belonging to New-Plymouth, but at that time an inhabitant of the Massachusetts) at Block-Island, a place not far from the mouth of their harbour, as he was fairly trading with them : Besides some other such like acts of perfidious cruelty towards some of the Dutch, and that had formerly been trading up Connecticut river. By which practices preceiving that they began to stink in the nostrils of their neighbors, whose revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to have to deal with too many enemies at once, they imitated the subtlety of the children of Ammon, when they began to stink before David ; endeavouring to strengthen themselves with

alliance of some of those they had formerly provoked, that by their assistance they might defend themselves against the rest, not doubting but to make their part good with their foreign enemies, if they could be reconciled to their Indian neighbours, the Narragansets, or other home-bred enemies, and could but fortify themselves by a league of friendship with any of their foreign neighbours that were newly come to plant in these parts. To this end they sent messengers with gifts to the Massachusetts in the latter end of the same year 1634 ; the first messengers were dismissed without an answer : but they being sensible of their own danger, and of the great importance a peace with the English might be, pursued the business very earnestly, sending messengers a second time, who offered much Wampam (Indians money) and beaver, with these second messengers : The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts had much conference many days ; and at last after the best advice they could take amongst themselves, concluded a peace with them on the following conditions.

1. That they should deliver up to the English those persons amongst them that were guilty of Capt. Stone's death, and the rest that were with him.

2. That if the English desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to them.

3. That the English should hence forward trade with them as their friends, which was a chief thing

aimed at ; the said Pequods being at that time in war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neighbours, on the reasons forementioned. To these conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their desire that their new confederates, the Massachusetts, should mediate a peace for them with the Narragansets ; intimating likewise their willingness that a part of the present which they promised to send should be given to them, standing so much on their honor, that they would not be seen to give any thing themselves ; such was the pride and height of spirit lodged in this company of treacherous villians, the dregs and lees of the earth, and the dross of mankind.

As for Capt. Stone's death they silyly evaded the guilt of it, falsely adding, that there were but two left that had any hand therein, and that it was a just quarrel wherein he was slain : for, said they, he surprised some of our men, and would by force have compelled them to shew him the way up the river, whereon the said Stone coming ashore with two more, was watched by nine of our men (say they) who finding them asleep in the night, slew them to deliver our own men, one of whom going afterward to the bark, it was suddenly blown up ; Whereas the truth of the matter was thus :

The said Capt. Stone formerly belonging to Christophers in the West-Indies, occasionally coming to these parts, as he passed between this place and Virginia put in at that river, where the In-

dians after they had been often on board his vessel to trade with him, at the last came friendly on board as they used to do, but finding the Captain asleep in his cabin, took the opportunity to murder him as he lay, casting a covering over him that he might not be discerned by the rest whom they presently dispatched one after another, all but Captain Norton who made strong resistance, for a long time defending himself in the cook-room of the bark, till the gun-powder which he had set in an open vessel, to be more ready for his use, accidentally took fire, by which fatal accident he was so burned and his eyes so blinded that he could not make any further resistance, but fell into the hands of these cruel and blood-thirsty wretches, who after they had taken away his life made a prey of all that was in the vessel.

As for Mr. Oldham, he was murdered at an island called by the Indians, Manisses (since known by the name of Block-Island) but those that murdered him (probably inhabitants of the said Island) fled presently to the Pequods, by whom they were sheltered, and so became also guilty themselves of his blood.

In the year 1636, the death of Mr. Oldham was so manifest, that it could neither be concealed nor excused, the discovery whereof being remarkable, is here inserted.

One John Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to

put in at Long-Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbour, was forced by a sudden change of the wind to bear up for Block-Island, or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met with a Pinace, which they found to be John Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the reality of their pretended friendship after the murder of Cap. Stone) they hailed the vessel but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians, and a little before they had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods, whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only two boys and two Narraganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather because they let slip, and set up sail (being two miles from the shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the Island whereby they drove toward the main land of Narraganset) therefore they went a head of them, and having nothing but two pieces, and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, swords and pikes, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, swords and pikes ; but John Gallop, a man of great courage, let fly among them and so galled them, that they got all down under the hatches, and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her, which so affrighted the

Indians, as six of them leaped overboard, and were drowned, yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor, and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft (being but inch board) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians ; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then stood off again : then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea and were likewise drowned : whereupon there being but four left in her, they boarded her ; when an Indian came up and yielded ; him they bound and put into the hold : then another yielded ; him they also bound, but Gallop being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them a-sunder, flung him bound into the sea ; then looking about they found John Oldham under an old sail stark naked, having his head cleft to the brains ; his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, yet warm ; so they put him in the sea ; but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians (who were in a little room underneath with their swords) so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Narraganset shore, where they left her.

On the 26th of the said July, the two Indians which were with John Oldham, which he had taken on board to assist him and one other Indian, came from Canonius (the chief Sachem of the Narragansets) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended: and that Miantonimo (the second Sachem of the Narragansets) was gone with 17 canoes and 200 men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the Sachems of the Narragansets, except Canonius and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death, and the occasion was because he went to make peace, and trade with the Pequods last year: The prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it; but because they were sent as messengers from Canonius, they would not imprison them; But the Governor wrote back to Mr. Williams to let the Narragansetts know, they expected they should send home John Oldham's two boys, and take revenge of the Islanders, and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be a war with the Narragansets (for Block-Island was under them) and the next day he wrote Canonius, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger: but did expect, if he should send for the said two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after John Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the Sachem of Niantick to send to Block-Island for them, and that he had near 100 fathom of peag, and much other goods of Oldham's which should be reserved for them. And three of the seven that were drowned were Sachems, and that one of the two which was hired by the Niantick Sachem, was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were necessary to be sent, and the rest of the goods, and that they should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other Sachems were guilty.

Lieut. Gibbons and Mr. Higginson were sent soon after with Cushamakin the Sachem of Massachusetts, to Canonicus, by order of the Governor, and Council, to treat with him about the murder of John Oldham. They returned with acceptance and good success of their business.

The English of Massachusetts after the peace concluded with the Pequods, sent a bark thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendship, but they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said Indians perceiving, made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief surprising many of the En-

glish in the year 1636, when Connecticut river began first to be planted, divers of whom were killed by them about Wethersfield, when the plantation then first began, so that they could not pass up and down the river without a guard, for fear of being cut off or carried away, as two young woman were said to be; 30 men were killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured, in a most barbarous manner, by insulting their prisoners in a blasphemous way, when in their dying agonies, under the extremities of their pains (their flesh being first gashed with knives, and then filled with burning embers) they called upon God with gasping groans, resigning up their souls into his hands; and their prayers were mocked by these wretched monsters.

About the same time some other agents sent over by Lord Say, and Lord Brook, built a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, wherein was placed one Lieutenant Gardiner, and a convenient number of soldiers to secure the place, intended soon after to be planted, but all the winter following, being the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said savages, not daring to stir out of command of the fort, for fear of being seized by their barbarous enemies.——At one time the Lieutenant with 10 or twelve of his soldiers marching out of the fort, with an intent to pass over a neck of land, to burn the marshes; as soon as they had passed over the streight of the neck, they espied a company of Indians making towards the said isthmus,

which if they could not recover, they see they must all perish ; whereupon returning back with all speed, they very narrowly escaped, two or three of them were killed before they could get back into the fort, which was surrounded by a multitude of them : but the discharging of a piece of ordnance gave them warning to keep further from their walls. Sometimes they came with their canoes into the river in view of the soldiers, and would then imitate the dying groans of the wounded Eenglish.

The Governor and Council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed it should be done with all expedition ; and accordingly on the 25th of August following, 80 or 90 men were sent out under the command of Capt. Endicot of Salem, who went to the Pepuod country by water, with commission to treat with the said Pequods, first offering terms of peace, if they would surrender the murderers of the English, and forbear further acts of hostility, or else fight them.

The Captain aforesaid, going ashore with his company, obtained some little speech with a great number of them at a distance ; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the woods and swamps, where there was no pursuing of them : however, one discharging a gun among them as they were taking their flight,

stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them at that time, and they accordingly turned back to Salem, until the next Spring.

Miantonimo soon after sent a message to them with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broke prison, and had him safe for them, and that the other had stolen away (not knowing it seems that he was their prisoner) and that according to their promise they would not entertain any of that Island, which should come to them; but they conceived it was rather in love to him whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly but when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came: But the Pequods harboured those of Block-Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers that were sent under Capt. Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook-fort, and were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods: After the said Capt. and the rest were departed, those twenty lay wind bound in the Pequod harbour, and in the meanwhile went ashore, with bags to get some of the Pequods corn; and having got each his bag full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves the Indians set upon them, they laid down their corn and began to fire upon the In-

dians, and the Indians shot arrows against them ; the place was open about the distance of a musket shot ; the Indians kept the covert, only when they came forth one at a time and discharged their arrows : The English stood in a single file, and ten only that had pieces that could reach them, shot, the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most of the afternoon ; many of the Indians were killed and wounded, while the English had but one man wounded : For they shot their arrows compass-wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them. The Indians at last being weary of their sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat.—This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side: The grass was so high that some of the Pequods concealed themselves in it, and rushed upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back, the rest fled to their boat, one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered.

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house which they had set up in a corn-field, about two miles from the fort. Three of them went out a fowling which the Lieutenant had strictly forbidden, two, had pieces, and the third only a sword, when suddenly about a hundred Indians came upon them, he who had the sword broke through, and receiv-

ed only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house which was not above a bow shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow, but they stayed still, 'till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces. Soon after they beat down the said house, out-houses, &c. and a short distance from the fort, killed a cow, and shot divers others, which came home with arrows sticking in them.

After Mr. Endicot's departure, the Pequods perceiving that they had by several late injuries and outrages, drawn upon themselves the hatred of all the English, as well as of their own people by former wrongs, and distrusting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtle insinuations and persuasions, try to make their peace with the Narragansets, using such arguments as to right reason seemed not only pregnant to the purpose but also (if revenge, that bewitching and pleasing passion of man's mind had not blinded their eyes) most cogent and invincible. It is said that so much reason was apprehended in these motives, that the Narragansets were once wavering, and were almost persuaded to have granted an ear to their advice and persuasion and joined all against the English; but when they considered what an advantage they had put into their hands by the strength and favor of the English, to take a full revenge of all their former injuries, upon their inveterate enemies, the thought of that was so

sweet, that it turned the scale against all other consideration whatsoever.

Soon after this, Miantonimo Sachem of the Narragansets, came to Boston (being sent for by the Governor) with two of Canonius's sons, and another Sachem, and near twenty of their men, whom they call Sannaps. The Governor, having notice by Cushamakin the Massachusetts Sachem, sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the Governor had called together all the Magistrates and Ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner, Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them in several propositions, which were to this effect, that they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequods, and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired the English would do so too: Promising to deliver their enemies to them, or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The Governor told them they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon articles subscribed by him, and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded, but because they could not make them well understand the articles, they told them they would send a copy of them of Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So after dinner they took

leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

The Articles were indifferently well observed by the Narragansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued : but then they began to grow insolent and treacherous, especially this Miantonimo himself ; as will appear in the sequel.

The report of the unheard of cruelties forementioned, which had been perpetrated by the Pequod nation, filling the ears of the English throughout the country ; it was agreed by the joint consent of the English thro'out the three colonies to unite all their forces together, for the suppressing of the common enemy, early in the spring 1637, who were also moved thereunto by their own necessities as well as by the earnest request of their friends in Connecticut.

Those of Plymouth being written to by the Governor of the Massachusetts, appeared very cordially willing thereunto, to which end they agreed to send fifty men at their own charge, with as much speed as the matter required, with sufficient leaders appointed, and a bark provided to carry them provisions, and tend them on all occasions ; but before they could be dispatched away the next spring, news was brought that the enemy was wholly routed, so as their journey was stopped, and their goodwill accepted for the deed ; as if they really had been there to have borne their part in the service ; their non-appearance in time and place being no

to be imputed to any backwardness in their minds, but to their too late invitation to the service ; the motion fetching a large compass from Connecticut down to the Massachusetts ; from whom in the last place they were solicited thereunto. And for the other two colonies, those of Connecticut being quickened on by the spur of necessity, and present sense of the insolency daily acted at their very doors, were soonest upon their march, and by the good hand of God upon them, had given the main stroke before their friends of the Massachusetts could come up with them, yet was there no repining for the want of the glory of the victory, nor was there any cause, those that were the chief actors therein being forward to give God the glory of the whole, and not willing to pocket up any thing thereof themselves, acknowledging that they never saw more of God, or less of man in any business of that nature, as may more fully be understood by particulars ensuing.

The colony of the Massachusetts determined to send a hundred and sixty, of whom a hundred and twenty were ordered under the conduct of Capt. Patrick of Watertown, and Capt. Trask of Salem, Capt. Stoughton of Dorchester being to command in chief ; with whom was sent that holy man of God, Mr. John Wilson, (pastor of the Church of Boston) the chariots and horsemen of our Israel by whose faith and prayer, as sometimes was said of Luther (in reference to Germany) the country was,

preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no enemy should break in upon a place whilst he survived, which as some have observed accordingly came to pass.

The matter requiring great expedition, and it being long before the whole company could be dispatched away, Capt. Patrick with forty men were sent beforehand, to be sure to meet with those of Connecticut in case they should be in action, before the rest of our forces could get into readiness, which accordingly come to pass ; for the main business of taking the fort was over, even before the said Patrick could get thither. Capt. Underhill was sent by Mr. Vane the Governor to Saybrook the winter before to strengthen the garrison there. The assaulting and surprizing of the Indian fort, being the most remarkable piece of service in that whole expedition : take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful and prudent commander, Capt. Mason, chief in action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labor, and enjoy the benefit of that day's service, having an inheritance given him in that part of the country, as a just reward of his faithful service on that day as well as at other times. Wequash a Pequod by nation, but discusted by the Sachem, proved a good guide to the English, by whose direction they were led to a fort near Mystic river, some miles nearer than Sassacous's fort, which they first intended to assault.

The following is Capt. Mason's account of the action :

“ On the second Wednesday of May, being the tenth day of the month, we set sail with ninety men of the English, in one Pink, one Pinnance and two Boats, towards the Pequods, with seventy river Indians ; having somewhat a long passage to Saybrook fort, about forty of our Indians desired to go down by land on Saturday, but on Monday they went forth from the fort, and meeting seven Pequods and Nianticks, they slew five outright, took one prisoner, and brought him into Saybrook fort, where he was executed by Capt. Underhill, the other escaped.

“ On Monday we all landed at Saybrook fort, and stayed there 'till Tuesday ; Capt. Underhill joining nineteen men with himself to us : Whereupon we sent back twenty of ours to strengthen our plantations ; and so set sail on Thursday towards Narraganset, and arrived there on Friday.

“ On Saturday myself, with Capt. Underhill, and Lieut. Sealy, with our guard marched to Canonius by land, being about five miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner : Having had parly with him, we sent to Miantonimo, who would give no present answer ; and so our Sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until Monday, at which time there assembled Miantonimo with the chiefest of them about

two hundred men ; and being solemnly set for consultation after their manner, told them we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the wrong committed and blood-shed by their and our enemies, upon our native country-men, not any way desiring their aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of. Moreover we told them that the English and they had always been good friends for ought we knew, and so we were with Indians that had not wronged Englishmen, which they acknowledged, and so made a large description of the Pequods country, and told us they would send men with us ; so we resolved there to keep our rendezvous at Canonicus's plantation on the morrow night, being Tuesday ; but the wind being stiff, we could not land our men 'till five or six o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I landed on Narraganset shore with thirty-two men, and so marched to the place of rendezvous formerly appointed : Capt. Underhill and my Lieut. landed the rest, and came up to me that night. About two hours before day came an Indian with a letter from Capt. Patrick, being then at Mr. Robert William's plantation with forty men, who desired us to stay for his coming and joining us, not intimating when that would be : Which being considered and debated, we thought it could not be our safest course to wait for him, though his present assistance was much desired, for these reasons.

1. "Because the day before when we had absolutely resolved to go, the Indians plainly told us they tho't we were but in jest, and also that English-men did talk much, but not fight; nay, they concluded that they would not go on; and besides if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by reason of the frequent recourses between them by certain Squaws (who have mutual intercourse) whereupon we were constrained to set forward towards the Pequods, with seventy-seven English, and about sixty river Indians, and as I suppose near about two hundred Narragansets, and marched that night to the eastern Nianticks, where we kept our rendezvous that night; the Sachem of the place adding about a hundred of his men unto us.

"We set forward and marched about 10 miles, where making a halt, we held a consultation with the Indians, who desired to know what we intended? We told them that we resolved to assault Sassacus's fort, at which they all appeared to be struck with amazement and fear; after a long debate and strongly urging them, taxing them with cowardice, some of them resolved to go along with us, tho I suppose they had no such intent, as appeared afterward; about a hundred of them here left us; and marching on five miles further, we made another halt, where they told us we had near a dozen miles to go. Being very weary in travelling with our arms, ammunition and provision; we

were constrained to alter our resolution, and resolved to attempt a nearer fort, which the Indians informed us was about three miles off.

“They drew a plot of the situation of the Pequods, and described Sassacous’s fort to be nearest, which was the chief cause we determined to assault that first, and had no reason leading till our last halt, where, upon reasons formerly mentioned, we changed our resolution: This greatly pleased the Indians, which were with us, as it was what they much desired; for it was dreadful to them to hear the name of Sassacous.

“From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvous, supposing ourselves to be within one mile of the fort: An Indian sent to discover beforehand, brought us news that they were secure, having been fishing with many canoes at sea, and divers of them walking here and there.

“About two hours before day we marched towards the fort, the Lord being pleased wonderfully to assist and encourage us, after a tedious march of three or four miles we about break of day came in a fair view of the fort, few standing on the top of a hill not steep; the Indians all falling back, were suddenly vanished out of sight, so we made a halt, and sent back for our guide, who had promised to go with us to the fort, but his heart we saw much failed him; we asked him what they intended who promised to wing us, and to surround

the fort ; he told us they were much a fraid ; but he seeing our resolution, went to them and prevailed with divers of them to come up to us ; we told them their best course would be to flank the fort on both sides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded : Capt. Underhill to the western entrance with one division, myself with the other to the eastern as silent as we possibly could ; we came up within two rod of the Palisado, before we were discovered ; at which time a dog began to bark, and an Indian cried out ; but not being myself rightly informed by the Indian guide, of the right entrance, tho there was a little postern door, which I thought to have attempted to break down with my foot ; but the Lord directed me otherwise for the better ; for I then feared we could not there enter with our arms, which proved true. So I suddenly hastened to the Palisado, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, discharged upon them, and so did the rest with all celerity ; we then suddenly hastened on toward that side which stood toward the water ; where I concluded was an entrance, and instantly fell upon it, being only barred with two great forked boughs, or branches of some trees, and hastening over them I drew one after me ; my Lieutenant drawing the other outward. We suddenly fell upon the wigwams ; the Indians cried out in a most hideous manner, some issuing out of the wigwams, shooting at us desperately, and so creeping under beds that they

had. We had resolved a while not to have burned it, but being we could not come at them, I resolved to set it on fire, after divers of them were slain, and some of our men sore wounded ; so entering one of their wigwams, I took a fire-brand, at which time an Indian drawing an arrow would have killed me, had not my Serjeant cut the bow-string with his cutlass, I however kindled a fire in the matts wherewith they were covered, and fell to a retreat and surrounded the fort ; the fire increasing violently, insomuch as that they were constrained to climb to the top of the Palisado ; from whence they were soon fetched down, I suppose to the number of a hundred and forty. Many of them issuing forth were suddenly slain either by the English or Indians, who were in a ring without us, all being dispatched and ended in the space of an hour, having two of our men slain, and sixteen wounded.

“ Being very hot and dry we could hardly procure any water, we continued there one hour not knowing what course to take or which way to go, our Pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far they were off, our Interpreter being an Indian, we could hardly come to speak with him, when we did, he knew nothing of what his countrymen intended, who were all hurried and distracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the enemy. But the enemy approaching they began to cleave unto us, and I ver-

ily think durst not leave us, in this critical situation. — Our Pinnaces then coming in view with a fair gale, being guided as it were to serve our necessity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently seen in a matter of like moment and less of man in several passages. Then we set our men in order and prepared for battle, and began to march toward the harbour where the Pinnaces were to ride : The enemy approaching, Capt. Underhill with many Indians and certain English issued out to encounter them, but they would not stand to it, for the most part they lay behind rocks, trees and bushes. We marched on they still dodging of us ; sometimes hazarding themselves in open fields, where some of them were slain in open view, and as we hear many wounded : I was somewhat cautious in bestowing many shot upon them needlessly, because I expected a strong opposition ; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our Pinnaces, where they wholly left us. Four of our wounded we were forced to carry a great part of the way ourselves, we afterwards made an agreement with the Indians to carry our wounded."

This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that came from Connecticut ; within a short time after, the forces sent from Massachusetts under the command of Capt. Stoughton, arrived there also and found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the taking of the

Pequod fort, which was only breaking up their nest, for the body of them, with Sassacous the chief Sachem (whose very name was a terror to all the Narragansets) were dispersed abroad and scattered all over their country, yet so far were the rest dismayed, that they never durst make any assault upon the English, who in several parties were scattered about in pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. Stoughton's soldiers came up before news was brought of a great number of the enemy, that were discovered by the side of a river up the country, being first trepanned by the Narragansets, under pretence of securing them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a distance, yet as they could not, or durst not stir from the place, by which means our forces of the Massachusetts had an early conquest of some hundreds of them, who were then couped up as in a pound; nor daring to fight, not able to fly away, and so were all taken without any opposition: The men among them to the number of 30, were turned presently into Charon's ferry-boat, under the command of Sipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbour; the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors, some being giving to the Narragansets, and other Indians that assisted in the service.

The rest of the enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in places where

they had hid themselves the rest fled out of their own country over Connecticut river, up toward the Dutch plantation. Our soldiers being resolved by God's assistance to make a final destruction of them, pursued them wherever they went, to which end our soldiers in the next place, went by water towards New-Haven, whither they heard, and which in reason was most likely, they bent their course: Soon after they were informed of a great number of them, that had betaken themselves to a neighboring place not far off, whither they might hope it was not likely they should be pursued; but upon search they found fifty or sixty wigwams, but without any Indians in any of them, but heard that they had passed along toward the Dutch plantation; whereupon our soldiers that were before, all embarked for Quillepiack, afterwards called New-Haven, and being landed there, they had not far to march unto the place where it was most probable they should find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here and there with sundry of them, whom they all slew or took prisoners, amongst whom were two Sachems, whom they presently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachem or near a-kin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he should go and enquire where Sassacous was, and accordingly bring them word; this Indian, overlooking all other national or natural obligations,—in consideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very

true and faithful to those that sent him; his order was to have returned in three days, but not being able within so short a time to make a full discovery of the business, and also find a handsome way to escape, he made it eight days before he returned, in which something fell out not a little remarkable; for those he was sent to discover suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself, that he came for a spy, pursued him, so he was obliged to fly for his life, and getting down to the sea side he accidentally met with a canoe a little before turned adrift, by which means he paddled by some shift or other so far out of the harbour, that making a sign he was discerned by some on board one of the vessels that attended on our soldiers, by whom being taken up he made known what he had discovered: But after he was gone, Sassacous it seems suspecting (and not without just cause) what the matter was, made his escape from the rest with 20 or 30 of his men to the Mohawks, by whom himself and they that were with him, were all murdered afterward, being hired thereunto by the Narragansets, as was confidently affirmed and believed, Sussacous's scalp was afterwards sent down to the English.

It is worthy our observation, that this Sassacous the chief Sachem of the Pequods, as afterwards Philip of Mount-Hope, (both of them in their several times and places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel mischiefs) yet, escaped the hands of

those whom they had so many ways provoked to the utmost degree of indignation, that so they might not too much gratify their own spirits in taking revenge ; but it must be brought about by those means, by which the glory of Divine vengeance and justice shall more eminently shine forth, that it might be truly said of them as Adonibezek confessed of himself, As I have done, so God had requited me.

But to return.

The rest of the Pequods from whom Sassacous had made an escape, shifted every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them (when a party of our soldiers according to the directions of him that was sent as a spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their company were fled ; but our soldiers ranging up and down as providence guided them, at the last, July 13, 1637, they lighted upon a great number of them, they pursued them to a small Indian town seated by the side of a hedious swamp (near the place where Fairfield or Stratford now stand) into which they all slipt, as well Pequods as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a centinal to give warning. Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason with half a score of their men happened to discover this crew. Capt. Patrick and Capt. Trask with about a hundred of the Massachusetts forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given ; such

commanders as first happened to be there gave special orders that the swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in compass) but Lieutenant Davenport belonging to capt. Trask's company, not hearing the word of command, with a dozen more of his company, in an over eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those evening wolves that newly kennelled therein; for Lieut. Davenport was sorely wounded in the body, John Wedgwood of Ipswich in the belly, and was laid hold on by some of the Indians; Thomas Sherman of said Ipswich in the neck; some of their neighbours that ventured in with them were in danger of the enemy's arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazard of being swallowed by the miry bogs of the swamp, wherein they stuck so fast, that, if Serjeant Riggs of Roxbury had not rescued two or three of them, they would have fallen into the hands of the enemy; but such was the strength and courage of those that came to their rescue, that some of the Indians being slain with their swords, their friends were quickly relieved, and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the Indians of the place, who had for company sake run with their guests the Pequods into the swamp, did not like their friendship so well as to be killed with them also for company sake, wherefore they began to bethink themselves that

they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parley, which was granted, and they presently understood one another by the means of Thomas Stanton an exact interpreter then at hand. Upon which the Sachem of the place with several others and their wives and children, that liked better to live quietly in their wigwams than to be buried in the swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them: After some further parley with these, the interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there ; and to that purpose let fly their arrows thick against him as intending to make his blood some part of a price of their own ; but thro' the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our commanders perceiving on which side the swamp the enemies were lodged, gave orders to cut through the swamp with their swords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The swamp by the forementioned advice being reduced to so narrow a compass, that the

soldiers standing at twelve feet distant apart around it, the enemy was kept in all night ; but a little before day-break, there being a great fog that used to arise about that time, twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers, and escaped away into the woods, some by violence and some by stealth dropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit ; the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still to be shot through or cut to pieces, than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they had now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning entering the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces loaded with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them ; so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty it was judged) many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never more were minded by friend or foe : Of those who were not so desperate or sullen to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas, of the females some were distributed to the English towns, some were disposed of among other Indians, to whom they were enemies as well as to ourselves.

This overthrow given to the Pequods struck such a terror into all the Indians in those parts (some of whom had been ill affected to the English before) that they sought our friendship, and rendered themselves to be under our protection, which they then obtained, and have never since forfeited it any of them till this late rebellion of Philip the subject of the following discourse. Amongst the rest of the prisoners special notice was taken of the wife of a noted Indian called Mononotto, who with her children submitted herself, or by the chance of the war fell into the hands of the English : it was known to be by her mediation that two English maids (that were taken from Wethersfield upon Connecticut river) were saved from death, in requital of whose pity and humanity, the life of herself and her children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the care of that honorable gentleman Mr. John Winthrop, for that time being the worthy Governor of Massachusetts ; who taking notice of her modest countenance and behaviour, as well as of her own request (not to suffer wrong either as to the honor of her body or fruit of her womb) gave special charge concerning her, according to his noble and christian disposition.

After this slaughter at the swamp, the Pequods being upon every turn exposed to the revenge of the Mohegans on one side, and the Narragansets on the other, chose rather to submit themselves to the English, by whom they were put some under the

Mohegans and some under the Narragansets, which at last proved the occasion of the present quarrel as is conceived, through the ambition of Miantonimo, as will be hereafter related.

On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo, a Sachem of the Niantick Indians (who were a branch of the Narragansets) came to Boston with seventeen of his own men; he made divers propositions to the English which they took into consideration, and promised to give him an answer the next day: But finding that he had rescued divers of the Pequods, submitting to him since the last defeat, they first demanded the delivery of them, which he sticking at, they refused further conference with him: But the next morning he came and offered what they desired. So the Governor referred him to the Captains at the Pequod country, and writ instructions to them how to deal with him. So receiving his ten fathom of wampam, they friendly dismissed him.

In July 1638, Uncas the sachem of the Mohegans, having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the Governor at Boston with a present, and was much dejected because it was not first accepted: But afterwards the Governor and Council being satisfied about his innocency, they accepted it, whereupon he promised to submit to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narragansets, and himself, and confirmed all

with this compliment ; this heart, said he, (laying his hand upon his heart) is not mine but yours, command me any difficult service and I will do it, I have no men but they are all yours, I will never believe any Indians against the English any more ; and so he continued for ever after, as may be seen in the following transactions between the Indians and the English ; whereupon he was dismissed with some little reward, and went home very joyful carrying a letter of approbation for himself and his men, through the English plantations.

This was the issue of the Pequod war, which in the day of it here in New-England was as formidable to the country in general as the present war with Philip ; the experience of which, because it may administer much matter of comfort and encouragement to the surviving generation, as well as of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God, from all those who have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit and reaped the fruit of their labor and courage who engaged therein, the more pains has been taken to search out the broken pieces of that story and thus put them together, before the memory thereof was buried in the ruins of time and past the recovery and knowledge of the present age.

After subduing the Pequods in the year 1637, the Narragansets the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent, that the whole sovereignty over the rest of the Indians was not ad-

judged to belong to them, or out of envy, that Uncas the chief Sachem of the Mohegan Indians had insinuated further than themselves into the favor of the English, were observed to be always contriving mischief against them, notwithstanding a firm agreement was made between the English and the said Narragansets in the year 1637, when they had helped to destroy the Pequods, and also notwithstanding the triple league between the said Narragansets, the Mohegans and the English at Hartford (the chief town of Connecticut) made in 1638, wherein the said Indians were solemnly engaged, not to quarrel with the Mohegans or any other Indians, until they had first asked the advice of the English, to whose determination, they had likewise obliged themselves to stand, in all following differences among them. They carried it subtly and underhand for some years, and were pretending quarrels with the said Uncas, against whom they always had an inveterate malice, ever since the agreement made about distributing the Pequods, after the war with them was ended; expecting in all probability that all should have been left to their sole arbitrament. The Mohegans on the other side though not so numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politic, always made their recourses to the English, complaining of the insolencies of the Narragansets, contrary to their league, so as they would hardly be kept from making open war against them, when they saw all other at-

tempts to kill and destroy Uncas the Mohegan Sachem, by treachery ; poison, and sorcery, prove ineffectual. Insomuch that at last the malice of Miantonimo and his Narragansets grew to that height that they began to plot against the English themselves, for defending of Uncas.

The Narragansets were animated by the haughty spirit and aspiring mind of Miantonimo, the heir apparent of all the Narraganset people, after the decease of the old Sachem, Canonius, who was his uncle. This Miantonimo was a very goodly personage, of tall stature, subtle and cunning in his contrivement, as well as haughty in his designs. It was strongly suspected that in the year 1642, he had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy against the English : For, the first of September, 1642, letters came to Boston from the Court at Connecticut, and from two of the Magistrates there, that the Indians had conspired to cut off the English all over the country ; Mr. Ludlow certified so much from the place where he lived near the Dutch. The time appointed to before the assault, was said to be after harvest, the manner to be by several companies entering into the chief mens houses, by way of trade, and then to kill them in their houses, and seize their arms, and others should be at hand to prosecute the massacre : This was also confirmed by three Indians that were said to reveal it in the same manner, and at the same time, to Mr. Lud-

low, and to the Governor of New-Haven. It was added also that another Indian should discover the same plot to Mr. Haines of Connecticut, by some special circumstances, viz, that being much hurt by a cart (which usually there are drawn with oxen) he should send for Mr. Haines and tell him, that Englishman's God was angry with him, and sent Englishman's cow (meanig the oxen in the cart, or wayne) to kill him, because he had consealed a plot against the English, and so told him all as the other Indians had done.

Upon this, their advice from Connecticut was, that we should begin with them, and enter upon a war presently, that if the Massachusetts would send 120 men to Saybrook, at the river's mouth, they would meet them with a proportionable number.— This was a very probable story, and very likely it was, that the Indians had been discoursing of some such business among themselves. But the General Court of the Massachusetts when called together, did not think those informations to be a sufficient ground whereon to begin a war. Although the Governor and Magistrates as many as could convene together before the Court, ordered that all the Indians within their jurisdiction should be disarmed, which they willingly yielded unto; And upon all the enquires and examinations which were made by the Court when assembled together they could not find any such violent presumption of a conspiracy, as to be the ground of a war. Besides, it was

considered, that the reports of all Indians were found by experience to be very uncertain, especially when it may well be supposed, that they are or may be raised and carried by such as are at variance one with another; who may be very like to accuse one another to ingratiate themselves with the English. Miantonimo, Sachem of Narraganset, was sent unto, and by his readiness to appear, satisfied the English that he was innocent as to any present conspiracy, though his quarrel with the Mohegans (who bordered upon Connecticut colony) might very probably, as was judged, render him the subject of such a report.

The said Miantonimo when he came before the Court peremptorily demanded that his accusers might be brought before him face to face, and if they could not prove it, then to be made to suffer, what himself if he had been found guilty had deserved, i. e. death, his reasons for which were very plausible. He urged very much prosecuting such a law against his accusers; alledging, that if the English did not believe it, why did they disarm the Indians round about: And if they did believe it, equity required, that they who accused him should be punished according to the offence charged upon himself. He offered also to make it good against Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, that the report was raised either by him, or some of his people. The English answered, that divers Indians had robbed some of the Englishmens houses

which might be a sufficient ground to disarm ; and with that he was something satisfied. The Connecticut men were hardly prevailed with to forbear the war against them, but at last they were overcome with the allegations of the Massachusetts to lay it aside.

Miantonimo when he was at Boston was very deliberate in his answers, shewing a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, as well as a seeming ingenuity withal : But though his words were smother than oil, yet, as many conceived in his heart were drawn swords. It was observed also, that he would never speak but when some of his Counsellors were present, that they might, as he said, bear witness of all his speeches at their return home.

They spent two days in the treaty, wherein at last he gave them satisfaction in all things, though he held off long about the Nianticks, of whom he said they were as his own flesh, engaging on their behalf, that if they should do any wrong, so as neither he nor they could satisfy without blood, then he would leave them to the mercy of the English. At his departure he gave his hand to the Governor, telling him, that was for the Magistrates that were absent.

While he was at Boston one of his own followers had been a principal evidence against him ; he however promised to deliver him to the Mohegan Sachem whose subject he was ; notwithstanding

which promise, going homeward he cut off his head to prevent his telling more tales. And with great discontent as he was going home said he would come no more to Boston, wherein he proved a truer prophet than he himself believed when he uttered the words, for in the end of the same year, 1643, making war upon Uncas, he was taken prisoner by him, and soon after the advice of the Commissioners of the four colonies (at that time firmly united into a league offensive and defensive, on which account they were after that time called the united colonies of New-England; though since that time they are reduced to but three colonies; that of New-Haven and Connecticut by the last patent being united in one) his head was cut off by Uncas, it being justly feared, that there would never be any firm peace, either betwixt the English and the Narragansets, or betwixt the Narragansets, and Mohegans, while Miantonimo was left alive: However, the Narragansets, have ever since that time borne an implacable malice against Uncas, and all the Mohegans, and for their sakes secretly against the English, so far as they durst discover it.

In the years 1645 and 1646, they grew so insolent, that the Commissioners of the united colonies were compelled to raise forces to go against them, but when they perceived that the English were in good earnest, they began to be afraid, and sued for peace, and submitted to pay tribute to satisfy for

the charge of preparation for the war, but were always very backward to make payment until the English were forced to demand it by new forces, so that it appeared they were unwillingly willing to hold any friendly correspondence with the English, yet durst they never make any open attempt upon any of them, until the present rebellion, wherein they had no small hand, is too evident, notwithstanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

Thus it is apparent upon what terms the English stood with the Narragansets, ever since the cutting off of Miantonimo's head by Uncas, it being done with the advice and counsel of the English. As for the rest of the Indians, ever since the suppressing of the Pequods in the year 1637 until the year 1675, there was always in appearance amity and good correspondence on all sides, scarce an Englishman was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by any of them, until the year 1671, when one Matoonas, who as was supposed, being vexed in his mind that the design against the English, intended to begin 1671, did not take place, out of meer malice and spite against them, slew an Englishman travelling along the road, the said Matoonas being a Nipnet Indian, which Nipnets were under the command of the Sachem of Mount-Hope, the author of all the present mischiefs.

Upon a due enquiry into all preceeding transactions between the Indians and the English, from

their first settling in these coasts, there will appear no ground of quarrel that any provocation upon one account or another: for when Plymouth colony was first planted, within three months after their first landing, March 16, 1620, Massasoit, the chief Sachem of all that side of the country, repaired to the English at Plymouth and entered into a solemn league upon sundry articles which are as follows, viz.

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or hurt any of their people.

2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.

4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they should aid him, and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might likewise be comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (bows and arrows) behind them.

7. That in so doing, their sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as their friend and ally.

This league the same Sachem, September, 25, 1630, a little before his death, coming with his eldest son, afterward called Alexander, did renew with the English at the court of Plymouth, for himself and his son, and their heirs and successors: And after that he came to Mr. Brown's, who lived not far from Mount-Hope, bringing his two sons, Alexander and Philip with him, desiring there might be love and amity after his death, between his sons and them, as there had been betwixt himself and them in former times: Yet it is very remarkable, Massasoit, called also Woosamequen was never in the least degree well affected to the religion of the English, but would in his last treaty with his neighbours at Plymouth, when they were with him about purchasing some land at Swanzey, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his people from their old pagan superstition, and devilish idolatry, to the christian religion, and did much insist upon it till he saw the English were resolved never to make any treaty with him more upon that account, which when he discerned, he repented and did not further urge it: but that was a bad omen that notwithstanding whatever his humanity were to the English, as they were strangers, he manifested no small displacency of spirit against them, as they were christians, which strain was evident more in his son that succeeded him, and all his people, insomuch that some discerning persons of that jurisdiction have feared that that most abominable

nation of Indians would be rooted out, as is since come to pass.

The like may be observed concerning the Narragansets, who were always more civil and courteous to the English than any of the other Indians, tho' never as yet received the least tincture of christian religion, but have in a manner run the same fate with their neighbours of Mount-Hope, there being very few of them now left standing. Nor is it unworthy the relation, what a person of quality of late affirmed, viz. One much conversant with the Indians about Merrimack river, being 1660, invited by some Sagamores or Sachems to a great dance, (which solemnities are the times, they make use of to tell their stories and convey knowledge of some past and most memorable things to posterity) Passaconaway, the great Sachem of that part of the country, intending at that time to make his last and farewell speech to his children and people, that were then all gathered together, addressed himself to them in this manner:

“ I am going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever met together any more : I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed, and rooted off the earth if you do; for, I was as much an enemy to the English, at their first coming into these parts, as any one

whatsoever and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them sitting down here, but I could no way effect it, therefore I advise you never to contend with the English, nor make war with them."

After the death of this Woosamequen, or Massasoit, his eldest son succeeded him about 20 years since, Alexander by name, who notwithstanding the league he had entered into with the English, together with his father, in the year 1636 had neither affection to the Englishmens persons, nor yet to their religion, but had been plotting with the Narragansets to rise against the English; of which the Governor and Council of Plymouth being informed, they presently sent for him, to bring him to the Court; the person to whom that service was committed, was a prudent and resolute gentleman, the present Governor of the said colony, who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the said Alexander's dwelling, distant at least forty miles from the Governor's house, but by a good Providence, he found him whom he went to seek at a hunting-house, within six miles of the English towns, where the said Alexander with about eighty men were newly come in from hunting, and had left their guns without doors, which Major Winslow with his small company wisely seized,

and conveyed away, and then went into the wigwam, and demanded Alexander to go along with him before the Governor, at which message he was much appalled, but being told by the undaunted messenger, that if he stirred or refused to go he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief Counsellors, in whose advice he most confided, perswaded to go along to the Governors, but such was the pride and height of his spirit, that the very surprizal of him, so raised his choler and indignation, that it put him into a fever, which notwithstanding all possible means that could be used, seemed mortal; whereupon intreating those that held him prisoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promising to return again if recovered, and to send his son as hostage till he could so do; on that consideration he was fairly dismissed, but died before he got half way home.— Here let it be observed, that, although some have taken up false reports, as if the English had compelled him to go further or faster than he was able and so he fell into a fever, or as if he were not well used by the Physician that looked to him, while he was with the English, all which are notoriously false; nor is it to be imagined that a person of so noble a disposition as is that gentleman (at that time employed to bring him) should himself, or suffer any else to be uncivil to a person allied to them, by his own, as well as his father's league, as the said Alexander also was; nor was any thing of

that nature ever objected to the English of Plymouth, by the said Alexander's brother, by name Philip, commonly for his ambitious and haughty spirit nick-named King Philip, when he came in the year 1662, in his own person with Sausaman his Secretary and Chief Counsellor to renew the former league that had been between his predecessors and the English of Plymouth: But there was as much correspondence betwixt them for the next seven years as ever had been in any former times. What can be imagined therefore, besides the instigation of Satan, that envied at the prosperity of the church of God here seated, or else fearing lest the power of the Lord Jesus, that had overthrown his kingdom in other parts of the world, should do the like here, and so the stone taken out of the mountain without hands, should become a great mountain itself, and fill the whole earth; no cause of provocation being given by the English? For once before this, in the year 1671, the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, had so filled the heart of this savage miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to break out in open war against the inhabitants of Plymouth, pretending some trifling injuries done him in his planting land, but when the matter of controversy came to be heard divers of the Massachusetts Colony, yea, when he himself came to Boston, as it were referring his case to the judgement of that colony, nothing of that nature could be made to

appear, whereupon in way of submission, he was of necessity by that evident conviction forced to acknowledge that it was the haughtiness of his own heart, that put him upon that rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the English; and to a confession of this nature, with a solemn renewal of this covenant, declaring his desire, that this his covenant might testify to the world against him, if ever he should prove unfaithful to those of Plymouth, or any other of the English colonies therein, himself with his chief Councillors subscribed in the presence of some messengers sent on purpose to hear the difference between Plymouth and the said Philip. But for further satisfaction of the reader, the said agreement and submission shall here be published.

“TAUNTON, April 10th, 1671.

“Whereas my father, my brother and myself have formerly submitted ourselves and our people unto the King's Majesty of England, and to this colony of New-Plymouth, by solemn covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiscretion, and the naughtiness of my heart violated and broken this my covenant with my friends, by taking up arms, with evil intent against them, and that groundlessly; I being now deeply sensible of my unfaithfulness and folly, do desire at this time solemnly to renew my covenant with my ancient friends, and my father's friends above mentioned, and do desire this may testify to the world against me if ever I shall again fail in my faithfulness toward them

(whom I have now and at all times found kind to me) or any other of the English colonies ; and as a real pledge of my true intentions, for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to resign up unto the government of New-Plymouth, all my English arms, to be kept by them for their own security, so long as they shall see reason. For true performance of the promises I have hereunto set my hand together with the rest of my Council.

The Mark [P.] of Philip, chief

In presence of Sachem of Pokanoket,

Wm. Davis, The Mark [V.] of Tavoser,

Wm. Hudson, The Mark [M.] of Capt. Wispoke,

Tho. Brattle, The Mark [T.] of Wookaponchunt,

The Mark [8.] of Nimrod."

Philip, also, in the same year, signed the following

ARTICLES.

1. We, Philip and my council, and my subjects, do acknowledge ourselves subject to his Majesty, the King of England, and the government of New-Plymouth, and to their laws. 2. I am willing and do promise to pay unto the government of Plymouth, one hundred pounds in such things as I have : But I would intreat the favour that I might have three years to pay it in, for as much as I cannot do it at present. 3. I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, five wolves heads, if I can get them : Or, as many of them as I can procure, until they come to five wolves yearly. 4. If any difference fall between

the English and myself, and people, then I do promise to repair to the Governor of Plymouth, to rectify the difference amongst us. 5. I do promise not to make war with any, but with the Governor's approbation of Plymouth. 6. I promise not to dispose of any of the lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Governor of Plymouth.

“For the true performance of the said Sachem, Philip of Paukamakett, do hereby bind myself, and such of my council, as are present, ourselves, our Heirs, our Successors, faithfully, and do promise, in witness thereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the day and year above written.

*In the presence of the
Court and divers of the
Magistrates and other
gentlemen of the Massa-
chusetts & Connecticut.*

The mark P. of Philip,
Sachem of Pokanoket,
The mark [of Uncompen,
The mark † of Wocokem,
The mark 7 of Samkama.

To which, for the further clearing the justice of the present war, the result of the debate of the Commissioners of the united colonies about the matter of the war shall be here inserted.

“At a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies held at Boston, Sept. 9, 1675.

“We having received from the Commissioners of Plymouth a Narrative, shewing the rise and several steps of that colony, as to the present war with the Indians, which had its beginning there, and its progress into the Massachusetts by their insolences and outrages murdering many persons, and burning their houses in sundry plantations in both colo-

nies. And having duly considered the same ; do declare that the said war be both just and necessary, and its first rise only a defensive war. And therefore we do agree and conclude that it ought to be jointly prosecuted by all the united colonies ; and the charges thereof to be borne and paid as is in the articles of confederation.

JOHN WINTHROP, Wm. STOUGHTON,
JAMES RICHARDS, JOSIAH WINSLOW,
THO. DANFORTH, THO. HINCKLEY.

But whatever his submission was before, or his subjecting himself and his people to our King, or his engagement to pay a sum of money in part of the charges then occasioned by him (and notwithstanding the English in or about Plymouth, since, or before that time were never any ways injurious unto him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a Narrative given by the Commissioners of the colony of Plymouth, wherein they also signify that the settlement and issue of the former controversy between Philip and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and interposed advice and counsel of the other two confederate colonies, and also in a letter, under the Governor's hand, in the following words :

“ I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, England did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors : Nay, because some of our people are of a

covetous disposition, and the Indians are in their straits easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law, that none should purchase or receive of gift, any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court, and penalty of a fine, five pounds per acre, for all that should be so bought or obtained. And lest yet they should be streightened, we ordergd that Mount-Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable for them, should never be bought out of their hands, or else they would have sold them long since. And our neighbours at Rehoboth and Swanzey, although they bought their lands fairly of this Philip and his father and brother, yet because of their vicinity, that they might not trespass upon the Indians, did at their own cost set up a very substantial fence quite across the great neck between the English and the Indians, and payed due damage if at any time any unruly horse or other beasts broke in and trespassed. And for divers years last past (that all occasion of offence in that respect might be prevented) the English agreed with Philip and his, for a certain sum of money yearly to maintain said fence, and secure themselves. And if any time they have brought complaints before us, they have had justice impartial and speedily, so that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in shewing them overmuch favour.

Marshfield, May 1, 1676. Jos. WINSLOW."

Yet did this treacherous an perfidious caitiff still harbour the same or more mischievous thoughts against the English than ever before, and has been since that time plotting with all the Indians round about, to make a general insurrection against the English in all the colonies; which as some prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in execution at once, by all the Indians rising as one man, against all those plantations of English, which were next to them. The Narragansets having promised, as was confessed, to rise with four thousand fighting men in the spring of this present year, 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about Sausaman, Philip was necessitated for the safety of his own life to begin his rebellion the year before, when the design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own life had now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the murder of the aforesaid Sausaman, his heart might have failed him, when it should have come to be put in execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of his Captains, of far better courage than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, flung down his arms, calling him a white livered cur, or to that purpose, and saying, that he would never own him again, or fight under him: and from that time has turned to the English, and has continued to this day a faithful and resolute soldier in their quarrel.

That the Indians had a conspiracy amongst

themselves to rise against the English, is confirmed by some of the Indians about Hadley, although the plot was not come to maturity when Philip began the special providence of God therein over-ruling the contrivers: For when the beginning of the troubles first was reported from Mount-Hope, many of the Indians were in a kind of a maze, not knowing well what to do, sometimes ready to stand for the English, at formerly they had been wont to do; sometimes inclining to strike in with Philip (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen; much mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing than any other ways; the English never imagined that after so many obliging kindnesses received from the English by the Indians, besides their many engagements and protestations of friendship, as formerly, they would have been so ungrateful, perfidiously false and cruel, as they have since proved.

The occasion of Philip's so sudden taking up arms the last year was this—There was one John Sausaman, a very cunning and plausible Indian well skilled in the English language, and bred up in a profession of the christian religion, employed as a school-master at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanor fled from his place to Philip by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a Secretary, and his chief Counsellor, whom he trusted with his affairs and secret counsels: But

afterwards, whatever upon the sting of his conscience, or by the frequent solitations of Mr. Elliot, that had known him from a child, and instructed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit, he was at last prevailed upon to forsake Philip, and returned back to the christian Indians at Natick, where he was baptized, manifesting public repentance for all his former offences, and made a serious profession of christian religion; and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indians: yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namas-ket: (now Middleborough) whether for the advantage of fishing, or some such occasion, it matters not; being there not far from Philip's Indians, and of Philip himself; by which means he discerned by several circumstaues, that the Indians were plotting anew against us: the which out of faithfulness to the English, the said Sausama informed the Governor of, adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information, some enquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, and several of his Indians who although they would own nothing yet could not free themselves from just suspicion.

Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered, notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that murdered him met him upon the ice on a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and hat upon the ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the ice and was drowned: but being missed by his friends, who finding his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the ice. When they took him up to bury him, some of his friends, particularly one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect he was first knocked down, before he was put into the water, however, they buried him near about the place where he was found; without making any further enquiry at present: nevertheless David his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton, which occasioned the Governor to enquire further into the business, wisely considering, that as Sausaman had told him, if it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains: wherefore, by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned. And by a strange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murdering the said Sausaman, but never

durst reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the court of Plymouth, or before the Governor, where he plainly confessed what he had seen.

The murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being three in number; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the Councillors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on. This was done at Plymouth Court, held in June, 1675, insomuch that Philip apprehending the danger his own head was in next never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English nor yet about Sausaman's death; but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards.

The English of Plymouth hearing of all this, yet took no further notice, than only to order a military watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that Philip, finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said Court, the present cloud might blow over, as some others of like nature had done before; but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise, for Philip, finding his strength daily

increasing by the flocking of neighbouring Indians, unto him, and sending over their wives and children to the Narragansets for security (as they used to do when they intend war with any of their enemies) they immediately began to alarm the English at Swanzey (the next town to Philip's country) as it were daring the English to begin; at last their insolences grew to such a height, that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses: whereat an Englishman was so provoked that he let fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swanzey; they first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the assembly where they were met in a way of humiliation on that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others, and then likewise at the same time, they slew two men on the high-way, sent to call a surgeon; and the same day barbarously murdered six men in and about a dwelling-house in another part of the town; all which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make resistance: For on the 14th day of the same month, besides endeavours used by Mr. Brown of Swanzey, one of the Magistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction, an ami-

cable letter was sent from the Council of Plymouth to Philip, shewing their dislike of his practices, and advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and not suffer himself to be abused by false reports, concerning them that intended him no hurt ; but no answer could be obtained, otherwise than threatning of war, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things seemed to look with as bad a face as they then did. However, the Governor and Council of Plymouth, understanding that Philip continued in his resolution, and manifested no inclination to peace, they immediately sent up what forces they could to secure the towns thereabout, and make resistance as occasion might be ; and also dispatched away messengers to the Massachusetts Governor and Council, letting them know the state of things about Mount-Hope, and desiring their speedy assistance ; upon which care was immediately taken with all expedition to send such supplies as were desired : But in the mean time two messengers were dispatched to Philip, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody enterprize, so to have prevented the mischief since fallen out, hoping, that as once before, viz. in the year 1671, by their mediation, a stop was put to the like tragedy, so the present war might by the same means have been now turned aside : for in the said year Philip had firmly engaged himself, when he was at Boston, not to quarrel with Plymouth until he had first

addressed himself to the Massachusetts for advice and approbation: But the two messengers aforesaid, finding the men slain in the road June 24, as they were going for the surgeon, apprehended it not safe to proceed any further, considering also, that a peace now could not honorably be concluded after such barbarous outrages committed upon some of our neighbour colony: Wherefore the Massachusetts forces were dispatched away with all imaginable haste, as the exigence of the matter did require, some of them being then upon, or ready for their march, the rest were ordered to follow after, as they could be raised. The sending forth of which, because it was the first engagement in any warlike preparations against the Indians, it shall be more particularly related.

On the 26th of June, a foot company under Captain Daniel Henchman, with a troop under Capt. Thomas Prentice, were sent out of Boston toward Mount-Hope. It being late in the afternoon before they began to march, the central eclipse of the moon in Capric, happened in the evening before they came up to Naponset river, about twenty miles from Boston, which occasioned them to make a halt, for a little repast, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholly fancies would not be persuaded, but that the eclipse falling out at that instant of time was ominous, conceiving also that in the centre of the moon they discerned an unusual black spot, not a little resembling the scalp of an

Indian ; As others not long before, imagined they saw the form of an Indian bow, accounting that likewise ominous (although the mischief following was done by guns, and not by bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what Mercurius Crassus the Roman General, going forth an army against the Parthians, once wisely replied to a private soldier, that would have dissuaded him from marching that time, because of an eclipse of the moon in Capricorn, that he was more afraid of Sagittarius than of Capricornus, meaning the arrows of the Parthians (accounted very good archers) from whom as things then fell out, was his greatest danger. But after the moon had waded through the dark shadow of the earth, and borrowed her light again, by the help thereof, the two companies marched on toward Woodcock's house, thirty miles from Boston, where they arrived next morning ; and there retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of volunteers, under the command of Capt. Samuel Mosely, which accordingly came to pass, so as on June 28th, they all arrived at Swanzy, where by the advice of Capt. Cudworth, the commander in chief of Plymouth forces, they were removed to the head-quarters, which for that time were appointed at Mr. Miles's house, the Minister of Swanzy, within a quarter of a mile of the bridge, leading into Philip's lands. They arriving there some little time before night, twelve of the troop unwilling to lose

time passed over the bridge, for discovery into the enemies territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten Indians firing upon them out of the bushes, killing one William Hammond, wounding Corporal Belcher, his horse being also shot down under him ; the rest of the said troopers having discharged upon those Indians that run away after their first shot, carried off their two dead and wounded companions, and so retired to the main guard for that night, pitching in a barricado about Mr. Miles's house. The enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold assault or two at the first ; but their hearts soon began to fail them when they perceived the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces both engaged against them : For the next morning they shouted twice or thrice, at half a mile's distance, and nine or ten of them shewing themselves on this side the bridge, our horsemen with the whole body of the volunteers under Capt. Mosely, not at all daunted by such kind of alarms, nor willing so to lose the bridge, ran violently down upon them over the said bridge, pursuing them a mile and a quarter on the other side : Ensign Savage, that young martial spark, scarce twenty years of age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his thigh another shot through the brim of his hat, by ten or twelve of the enemy discharging upon him together while he boldly held up his colours in the front of his company : But the weather not suffering any further action at that time, those that were thus far

advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main guard, having first made a shot upon the Indians as they ran away into a swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at Narraganset: This resolute charge of the English forces upon the enemy made them quit their place on Mount-Hope that very night, where Philip was never seen after; till the next year, when he was by a divine mandate sent back; there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief: The next day Major Savage that was to command in chief over the Massachusetts forces, being come up with other supplies, about six o'clock over night the whole body intended to march into Mount-Hope, and there beat up the enemies quarters, or give him battle, if he durst abide it: But the weather being doubtful, our forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a troop of horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the enemy's ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and a half, they passed by some houses newly burned: Not far off one of them, they found a bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about by the enemy, in hatred of our religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some heads, scalps, and hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon poles near the highway, in that barbarous and inhuman manner bidding us defiance; the commander in chief giv-

ing order that those monuments of the enemy's cruelty should be taken down, and buried : The whole body of the forces still marched on two miles further, where they found divers wigwams of the enemy, among which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the owners ; half a mile further as they passed on through many fields of stately corn, they found Phillip's own wigwam. The force under Major Savage were forced to abide all night in the open field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that fell, and in the morning, despairing to meet with any enemy on Mount-Hope, they retreated back to their head-quarters at Swanzy, in the way meeting with many Indian dogs, that seemed to have lost their masters.

That night Capt. Prentice's troop for convenience of quarters, as also for discovery, was dismissed to lodge at Seaconke or Rehoboth, a town within six miles of Swanzy. As they returned back in the morning, Capt. Prentice divided his troop, delivering one half to Lieut. Oakes, and keeping the other himself, who as they rode along, espied a company of Indians burning a house ; but could not come at them by reason of several fences, that they could not go over till the Indians had escaped into a swamp. Those with Lieut. Oakes had the like discovery, but with better success, as to the advantage of the ground, so as pursuing of them upon a plain, they slew four or five of them

in the chase, whereof one was known to be Thebe a Sachem of Mount-Hope, another of them was a chief Counsellor of Phillip's : yet in this attempt the Lieut. lost one of his company, John Druce by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he soon after died, to the great grief of his companions. After the said troop came up to head-quarters at Swanzy, they understood from Capt. Cudworth that the enemy were discovered upon Pocasset, another neck of land lying over an arm of the sea, more towards Cape-Cod : However it was resolved that a more narrow search should be made after them, both upon Mount-Hope and upon the ground between Swanzy and Rehoboth to scour the swamps, and assault them if they could find where they were entrenched. Captain Henschman and Capt. Prentice were ordered to search the swamps, while Capt. Mosely and Captain Paige with his dragoons attending on Major Savage, should return back into Mount-Hope, that they might be sure to leave none of the enemy behind them, when they should remove to pursue them elsewhere.

About ten o'clock the next morning, July 4th, Capt. Henschman, after a long and tedious march, came to the head-quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the enemy had newly been that night, but were escaped out of his reach : But the following night, before they were determined of any other motion, Capt. Hutchinson came up

from Boston with new orders for them to pass into Narraganset, to treat with the Sachems there, and to prevent their joining with Philip. Capt. Cudworth by this time was come to head-quarters having left a garrison of 40 men on Mount-Hope neck. The next morning was spent in consultation how to carry on the treaty ; it was then resolved, that they should go to make a peace with a sword in their hands, having no small ground of suspicion that the said Narragansets might join with the enemy, wherefore they thought it necessary to carry all the Massachusetts forces over without any further delay into the Narraganset country, to fight them if there should be need ; Capt. Mosely passed over by water to attend Capt. Hutchinson in his dispatch ; the other companies with the troopers riding round about. As they passed they found the Indians in Pomham's country (the next adjoining to Phillip's borders) all fled, and all their wigwams without any people in them.

After they came to the Narraganset Sachems, three or four days were spent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded with them by the messengers of Connecticut colony (who were ordered to meet with those of the Massachusetts) and the commanders of the forces sent against Philip : Hostages were also given by the said Narragansets for the performance of the agreement.

During this treaty of peace with the Narragansets, Capt. Cudworth with the forces from Plym-

outh, under his command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, viz. to make war whilst the other were (as they thought making peace : In the first place therefore he dispatched Capt. Fuller (joining Lieut. Church together with him in commission) with fifty in his company to Pocasset, on the same account, as the other went to Narraganset ; either to conclude a peace with them, if they would continue friends, and give hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves enemies, and join with Philip ; himself intending to draw down his forces to Rehoboth, to be ready for a speedy march to Taunton, and so down into the other side of the country, upon the news that some of the enemy were burning Middleborough and Dartmouth, two small villages lying between Pocasset and Plymouth. Thursday July 7, capt. Fuller and Lieut. Church went into Pocasset to find the enemy, and treat with a few of whom Lieut. Church was well acquainted.

After they had spent that day and most of the night, in traversing the said Pocasset neck, and watching all night in a house which they found there, they could hear no tidings of any Indians ; inso-much that capt. Fuller began to be weary of his design : Mr. Church in the mean while assuring him that they should find Indians before it were long : yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Capt. Fuller taking down toward the seaside,

where it seems, after some little skirmishing with them wherein one man only received a slight wound, he either saw or heard too many Indians for himself and his company to deal with, which made them betake themselves to a house near the water side, from whence they were fetched off by a sloop before night to R. Island. Capt. Church marched further into the neck, imagining that if there were Indians in the neck, they should find them in a pease field not far off. As soon as they came near the said field he espied two Indians among the peas, who at the same time espied him; and presently making some kind of shout, a great number of Indians came about the field, pursuing the said Capt. Church and his men in great numbers to the sea side: there being not above 15 with Church, yet seven or eight score of the Indians pursuing after them. Now was a fit time for this young Captain and his small company to handseel their valour upon this great rout of Indians, just ready to devour them: and although some of these fifteen had scarce courage enough for themselves yet their Captain had enough for himself and some to spare. When he saw the hearts of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight on, and (possibly by some divine impression upon his heart) assured them not a bullet of the enemy should hurt any one of them, which one of the company more dismayed than the rest, could hardly believe, till he saw the proof of it in his own per-

son, for the Captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather rocks together for a kind of shelter and baricado for the rest, that must either of necessity fight or fall by the enemy. It chanced as this fainthearted soldier had a flat stone in his arms, a bullet of the enemy struck it and was thus warded from his body, which experience put new life into him, so that he followed the business very manfully afterward, insomuch that they defended themselves under a small shelter hastily made up, all that afternoon not one being either slain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at least fifteen of their enemy : And at the last, when they had spent all their ammunition, and made their guns unserviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by capt. Golding's sloop and carried safe to R. Island in spite of all their enemies ; yea, such was the bold and undaunted courage of this champion, capt. Church, that, not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, he went back in the face of his enemies to fetch his hat, which he had left at a spring, whither the extreme heat of the weather, and his labor in fighting had caused him to repair for the quenching of his thirst an hour or two before.

This assault rather heightened and increased than daunted the courage of capt. Church ; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat which providence offered him by the sloop aforesaid, after his ammunition was spent, he did not stay long at

R. Island, but hastened over to the Massachusetts forces, and borrowing three files of men of capt. HENCHMAN again returned to Pocasset, where they had another skirmish with the enemy, wherein 14 or 15 were slain which struck such a terror into Philip, that he betook himself to the swamps about Pocasset.

On Friday July 15, our forces marched for, and arrived at Rehoboth, where having no intelligence of the enemy nearer than a great swamp on Pocasset, eighteen miles from Taunton, whither after a tedious march of 20 miles they arrived in the evening, and found the people generally gathered into eight garrison houses.

On Monday July 18, they marched eighteen miles before they could reach the swamp where the enemy was lodged: As soon as they came to the place, Plymouth forces being now joined with them, our soldiers resolutely entered in amongst the enemies, who took the advantage of the thick underwood, to make a shot at them the first entered, whereby five were killed outright, seven more wounded, some of whose wounds proved mortal: After the first shot, the enemy presently retired deeper into the swamp, deserting their wigwams, (about an 100 in all) newly made of green bark, so as they would not burn; in one of them they found an old man, who confessed that Philip had been lately there. Having spent some time in searching the swamp, and tired themselves to no purpose

(yet it was said one half hour more would at that time have subdued Philip and all his power) the commander in chief, night drawing on a pace, not thinking it safe to tarry longer in so dangerous a place, where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as of his foes, being ready to fire upon every bush they saw move supposing Indians were there, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that they might have time to dispose of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended: the English in this expedition lost fifteen men.— Plymouth forces who had entered in the rear, retreating in the front. It was judged by this means that the enemy having been brought into a pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needless charge to keep so many companies of soldiers together to wait upon such an inconsiderable enemy, now almost as good as taken: whereupon most of the companies belonging to the Massachusetts were drawn off, only Capt. Henchman with a 100 foot being left there, together with Plymouth forces, to attend the enemies motion, being judged sufficient for that end. Major Savage, Capt. Paige with Capt. Mosely and their companions returned to Boston: Capt. Prentice with his troops were ordered towards Mendham, where it seems, about the middle of July, some Indians, had made an assault upon some of the inhabitants, as they were at their labour in the field, killing five or six of them; as soon as they

had done, flying away into the woods so as they could not easily be pursued. The inhabitants of the same village, lying in the heart of the enemy's country began to be discouraged, so as within a little time after they forsook the place, abandoning their houses to the fury of the enemy, which by them were soon after turned into ashes. But to return to King Philip, who was now lodged in the great swamp upon Pocaset-Neck, of seven miles long.—Capt. HENCHMAN and the Plymouth forces kept a diligent eye upon the enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark swamp, being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in such dismal woods, when their eyes were muffled with the leaves, their arms pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually shackled with the roots spreading every way in those boggy woods. It is ill fighting with a wild beast in his own den. They resolved therefore to starve them out of the swamp, where they new full well they could not long subsist: to that end they began to build a fort, as it were to beleaguer the enemy, and prevent his escape out of the place, where they thought they had him fast enough. Philip in the mean time was not ignorant of what they were doing without, and was ready therein to read his own doom, if he tarried much longer there, he knew he should fall into their hands from whom he could expect no mercy: the case being therefore desperate he resolved with 100 or 2 of his best fight-

ing men to make an escape by the water, all passages by land being sufficiently guarded by the English forces. The swamp where they were lodged being not far from an arm of the sea, coming up to Taunton, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either wade over one night in the end of July, or else wafted themselves over upon some small pieces of timber very early before break of day, by which means the greatest part of his company escaped away into the woods, leading into the Nipmuck country, altogether unknown to the English forces, that lay encamped on the other side of the Swamp. About a hundred or more of the women and children which were like to be rather burdensome than serviceable, were left behind, who soon after resigned up themselves to the mercy of the English. Philip's escape thus from Pocasset could not long be concealed after the day appeared, there being much champaign land through which he was to pass, so as being discovered to some of Rehoboth, the inhabitants presently followed him, together with a party of the Mohegans, that a little before came to Boston, offering their service against Philip, and were sent up into those parts to order by Captain Henchman, but before they came to him were easily persuaded to go along with any of the English that were engaged in the pursuit of Philip. News also thereof was carried to Capt. Henchman, who, as soon as he could get over with six files of men (rowing hard all or most part of the day to get to Providence) followed af-

ver the enemy. The Mohegans with the men of Rehoboth, and some of Providence came upon their rear over night, slew about 30 of them, took much plunder from them, without any considerable loss to the English. Capt. HENCHMAN came not up to them (pursuing them only by track) till the skirmish was over, and having marched 22 miles that day was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the forces that came from Rehoboth and that belonging to Plymouth having left their horses three miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loss of time, and therefore looking at it altogether bootless to go after them in the morning, returned back the next day, leaving Capt. HENCHMAN with his six files, and the Mohegans to pursue the chase to Nipsatchet, which he did the next morning. Capt. HENCHMAN, that he might the better engage the Mohegans to march with 30 miles, gave them half his provision, and was himself recruited again by the care of Capt. EDMONDS of Providence, and Lieut. BROWN who brought provision after him to the Nipmuck forts. Mr. NEWMAN, the Minister of Rehoboth, deserve not a little commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to pursue thus far after Philip, animating of them by his own example and presence: But what the reason was why Philip was followed no further, it is better to suspend, than too critically to enquire. This is now the third time when a good opportunity of suppressing the rebellion of the Indians, was

put into the hands of the English; but time and chance happens to all men, so that the most likely means are often frustrated of their desired end. All human endeavours shall arrive at no other success, than the counsel of God hath pre-ordained, that no flesh might glory in their own wisdom, but give unto God the praise of all their successes, and quietly bear whatever miscarriages he hath ordered to befall them. It appears by the issue of these things that although this wound was not incurable, yet much more blood must be taken away before it could be healed. But by this means Philip escaped away to the westward, kindling the flame of war in all the western plantations of the Massachusetts colony wherever he came, so that by this fatal accident, the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguished, as soon almost as it began, did on a sudden break out through the whole jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, both eastward and westward, endangering also the neighbour colony of Connecticut, which has also suffered somewhat by the fury of this flame, though not considerable to what the other colonies have undergone.

While things after this manner proceeded in and about the colony of Plymouth, the Commissioners of the rest of the colonies were consulting and advising what was to be done for preventing the mischief threatened from spreading any further, fearing (as indeed there was too much cause) that although Philip only appeared to make the first at-

tempt, yet more either already were, or soon might be persuaded to join with him in acting this bloody tragedy.

The next thing in order to be related, is the calamity that befel Brookfield, which notwithstanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious Nipnet Indians, as shall here in the next place be declared ; only as we pass along, to remind the reader in a few words, what was the issue of Capt. HENCHMAN'S pursuit of Philip.

The Plymouth forces being returned home, as was said before, Capt. HENCHMAN with his six files of men, and the Mohegan Indians, having continued in the pursuit of Philip till they had spent all their provision, and tired themselves, yet never coming within sight of him, the Mohegan Indians in their company directed them to Mendham, and then leaving them, returned also to their own country. Capt. HENCHMAN in his march toward Mendham, or at Mendham, met with Capt. MOSELY coming up to bring him provision, and advertising him of what success he had met with in the pursuit, they altered their course, for Capt. HENCHMAN was sent down to the Governor and Council, to know what they should do : They presently remanded him to Pocasset, and ordered him to stay there if there was need, or else to draw off, surrendering the fort he had been building to Plymouth forces, which last had been chosen by those of Plymouth, whereupon Capt. HENCHMAN returning to Boston,

was ordered to disband his men. Capt. Mosely was ordered to march to Quabaog or Brookfield, where he continued a while, with the other captains sent up to the relief of the people there, and to seek after the enemy in those woods ; but after some time spent in ranging the country thereabouts, not meeting with any one of the infidels, he with his company came downwards searching the woods betwixt Lancaster (where a man, his wife and two children were slain on Lord's-day, Aug. 22) and Marlborough, where also a lad keeping sheep was shot at by an Indian that wore a sign, as if he had been a friend : the Indian was supposed to belong to the Hassanemesit Indians, at that time confined to Marlborough, where they had liberty to dwell in a kind of a fort.

The next day the inhabitants sent to demand their guns, Capt. Moseiy acquainted therewith, marched to the fort and found much suspicion against eleven of them, for singing and dancing, and having bullets and slugs, and much powder hid in their baskets ; insomuch that eleven of them were sent down prisoners to Boston, upon suspicion that they had a hand in killing the four at Lancaster, and shooting the Marlborough shepherd : But upon trial, the said prisoners were all acquitted of the fact, and were either released, or else were with others of that sort, sent for better security, and for preventing future trouble in the like kind, to some of the islands below Boston and towards Nantasket.

About this time Capt. Mosely sent with a company of soldiers to some Indian plantations up Merrimack river, as high as Pennycook, but they found no Indians there ; those that belonging to the place having withdrawn themselves from their native place, that they might not meddle in the present quarrel, as is confidently believed that Wonalonset the Sachem of that country had so resolved. That coast being clear of the enemies, Capt. Mosely soon after was sent up with his men to the towns westward about Hadley, if it might be, to subdue the enemy, who a little before and at that time, was doing all the mischief they could in those western plantations.

But to return and pursue the rebellious Indians, and keep pace with them in our history, though our forces as yet could never overtake them in the woods. The Governor and council of the Massachusetts were sensible of as much danger from the Nipnet Indians, as from the former : they being the inland part of the country betwixt the sea-coast and Connecticut river westward, and the towns about the Massachusetts-Bay eastward, whereupon some persons that used to trade with the said Nipnet Indians, were sent to sound them, and find how they stood effected, for which also there was the more reason because they were always in subjection to the Sachem of Mount-Hope, and so were the more like to engage in the quarrel ; of which there had been sufficient proof already ; when on the 14th

of July, some of the Nipnet Indians next bordering on Philip's country, set upon some of Mendham, where they killed five persons, which was the first mischief done upon any of the inhabitants within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, acted as was said by one Matoonas, who was father to him that had committed a murder soon after Philip's first rebellion, Anno. 1671. The messenger that was sent thither, brought word back that they found the said Indians wavering; the young men very surly and insolent, the elder ones shewing some inclination to maintain the wonted peace. Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. Wheeler was sent to assist Capt. Hutchinson with a party of 20 horse to treat further about peace who going first to Quabaog or Brookfield, (a town situated about 60 or 70 miles from Boston, in the road of Connecticut, lying about 25 miles from the said river, and not far distant from the chief seat of the Nipnet Indians) the inhabitants of the said Brookfield had been so deluded by those treacherous villians, that fearing no danger, they obtained of those Nipnets, the promise of a treaty upon the 2d of August; whereupon some of the chief of the town rode along unarmed with the said Wheeler and Hutchinson, with their party of horse until they came to the place appointed; but finding no Indians, so secure were they, that they ventured along further to find the infidels at their chief town, never suspecting the least danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that

way, they fell into an ambush, of two or three hundred Indians, laid in such a narrow passage, betwixt a steep hill on the one hand, and a hideous swamp on the other, that it was scarce possible for any of them to escape, eight of them being shot down upon the place (whereof three were of Brookfield) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. Hutchinson was one ; Capt. Wheeler was also near losing his life, whose horse was shot down under him, and himself shot through the body, so that all manner of hopes to escape had been removed from him, had it not been for his son, who was (by God's good providence) near or next unto him, this son, being a man of undaunted courage, notwithstanding his own arm being broken with a bullet, with great nimbleness and agility of body, dismounted himself, and speedily mounted his father upon his own horse, himself getting upon another whose master was killed, by which means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover Brookfield, which in all probability they never had done (the common road being waylaid with Indians on every side as was afterwards known) had it not been for one well acquainted with those woods, who led them in a by-path, by which means they got thither a little before the Indians, who quickly came flocking in to the town, with full intent to destroy it with fire and sword. But by special providence the inhabitants were all gathered to the principal

house of the village (there being scarce 20 in the town) before the barbarous miscreants came upon them, immediately setting fire upon all the dwelling houses, save that one into which the inhabitants were retired, which they several times attempted to burn, but were almost miraculously defeated of their purpose by the immediate hand of God.— For when they had for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people, both night and day pouring in shot upon them incessantly with guns, and also thrusting poles with fire-brands, and rags dipped in brimstone tied to the ends of them to fire the house ; at last they used this devilish stratagem, to fill a cart with hemp, flax and other combustible matter, and so thrusting it backward with poles spliced together a great length, after they had kindled it ; but as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling put out the fire, or else all the poor people about 70 souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that distressed company strangely delivered, who have for ever cause to say with the Psalmist, “Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers, the snare is broken and we are escaped.” For the next night Major Willard, by accident hearing of the danger the peo-

ple were in came with forty eight dragoons to their relief. The occasion which brought Major Williard, and Capt. Barker of Groton with forty-six in pursuance of his commission from the Governor and Council, was upon Wednesday August 4th in the morning marching out after some Indians to the westward, to secure them ; just as they were setting forth, some of Marlborough, who had intelligence (by those that were going to Connecticut, and forced to return) what distress Brookfield was in, and knowing of Major Willard's purpose to go out that morning from Lancaster, sent a post so acquaint him therewith, which though it did not find him in the town, yet overtook him before he had gone above four or five miles from the place : where upon conceiving it more needful to succour Brookfield in so eminent danger, than to proceed further upon his intended design, he altered his course and marched directly thither, being about 40 miles distant when the tidings were brought him ; so he arrived there that night very seasonably, about an hour after it was dark, or else in probability they had all perished before the relief sent up from Boston could have reached them, which was not till three days after. The Providence of God likewise in bringing in the said Major so safely, as well as seasonably to their relief, was very remarkable : For the Indians had subtilly contrived to cut off all relief sent before it could come at them, by laying ambushes, and placing their scouts at two or three miles dist-

ice around the town : about a hundred of them were lodged at a house not far off in the way toward Boston, to cut off any succour that might come from thence : but it is supposed they were so intense upon the project they were about firing the house, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or made such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their centinels when they shot off their guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the Indians let the Major and his company purposely pass by them, without any opposition, waiting for the blow to be given at their first approach near the house, purposing then to have themselves fallen upon the rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the besieged understood any thing thereof.

But to return to what was in hand before. After the Indians understood that succours had come in to the besieged, they fired all they had left standing for their own shelter while they had besieged the place before mentioned, and ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring woods : however it was confessed by one of themselves, that the enemy had eighty of their men killed and wounded in this business. But ere we pass any further in pursuit of the history of these matters it will not be amiss to let the reader understand the horrible perfidious and treacherous dealing of these Nipnet Indians, who, although of all other

they had the least reason as to any pretence of injury, yet did most deceitfully and barbarously join with Philip and his Indians, after they had been several times sent unto by the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, by the advice of Plymouth, to have prevented their rising, as well as the rising of the Narragansets, and also had faithfully promised not to meddle in the quarrel, as may more fully appear by the engagements under the hands of their Sachems, some time before Capt. Hutchinson and Capt. Wheeler were sent up to them, which by reason of the haste and unskillfulness of the messengers on that behalf sent, is not so fit for public view: but the account of it from their return, was under their hand and oath, July 24, 1675 when Lieut. Ephraim Curtis spake with five of the Nipnet Sachems four too many to govern so small a people, but lying upon the head of the principal Indian territories, they were divided into so many small parties, two of whom, viz. Sam, Sachem of Weshacum, and Netaump were executed together afterward at Boston. All of them did at that time solemnly renew their covenant and promise under their hands to come to Boston to speak further with the Governor, instead of which, what they perfideously did against Capt. Hutchinson and others, has already been declared

Upon the report of this sad disaster that befel the inhabitants of Brookfield, forces were sent up under the command of Capt. Lathrop and others,

sue after those Indians, harbouring about these places, and if it might be to prevent them from joining with the Indians upon Connecticut river, who as yet had not discovered themselves as willing to espouse Philip's interest, but rather made some semblance to the contrary. There was much time spent by Major Willard and several companies of soldiers left under his command about the Nipnet country, but all to no purpose, for partly by the treachery of some of the Indians that came to their assistance, that seemed to favor the English, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the subtleties of the enemies themselves, who could easily by their scouts discern the approach of our soldiers, and by the nimbleness of their feet escape them, our soldiers could never meet with any of them, they gathered all the Indians they could to their party about Pe-comptuck, alias Deerfield, Swamssot, and Squakeag, where were some plantations of the English newly began, which they attempted to destroy.

It is here to be noted, that although that worthy soldier Major Willard, hearing of the distress of Brookfield was the first that relieved the distressed people, yet Major Pynchon of Springfield also hearing of their calamity, had not only sent word thereof to Hartford, but did also send a band of men under Lieut. Cooper, who with about 30 sent from Hartford, and some Indians belonging to Springfield (seemingly forward to help the English)

made up fourscore or thereabouts : these marched down to Brookfield the same day that Capt. Lathrop and Capt. Beers came up from Massachusetts, they then united their forces and marched up to a place where Capt. Hutchinson and Wheeler were assaulted, and finding no Indians there the company that came from Springfield, left the other soldiers who returned to their quarters at Brookfield, and went up themselves further northward, at least 20 miles from Brookfield, and finding no track of Indians in all those woods, they returned back to Springfield.

By this it appears, that the Indians by this occasion were driven more westward into the woods between Hadley and Northfield, where they soon effected their design, viz. to leaven the Indians on that side the country with the same prejudice and malice against the English with which they themselves were imbittered ; yet at the first some of the Hadley Indians pretended real friendship to the English, and offered to fight against Philip, but the Mohegan Indians begun to suspect the treachery of the other, and told the English plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that company went along with them in pursuit of the enemy, for as was said, they would always give some shout when they came near the enemy, as if they should thereby wish them to look to themselves ; insomuch that the said Hadley Indians fell into great suspicion with the English, and for a proof of their

fidelity, they were required to bring in their arms to the English, but upon that motion they delayed a little, but that very night they fled away from their dwellings, which was in a wooden fortification, within a mile of Hatfield, whereby they plainly discovered that they had secretly plotted to join with Philip party, as far as they had an opportunity to do them any eminent service. Some think the English failed in point of prudence, not managing that business so warily as they might, which if they had done, their desection had been prevented, but it is most probable that Philip had hired them to own his quarrel, by sending them gifts in the spring: but the Sachems and the elder ones of them, seemed loth at first to engage against the English.

In conclusion, when they had so falsly left their dwellings, and were running after Philip and the Nipnet Indians (at that time harboured in those woods) the English were so provoked that were under the Capts. Lathrop and Beers, that they pursed after them very early the next morning, and overtook them about ten miles above Hatfield, at a place called Sugarloaf-hill, and had a small skirmish with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the English slain, and about 26 Indians. Yet, the rest escaped, and so joined with Philip and his company presently after which accident, they were so emboldened, that upon the first of Sept. about seven days after they set upon Deerfield, killed one man, and

aid most of the houses in ashes. About two or three days after they fell upon Squakeag, another new plantation fifteen miles higher up the river, above Deerfield, where they killed nine or ten of the people, the rest hardly escaped into the garrison house.

The next day, this disaster not being known Captain Beers, for fear of the worst, with 36 men, was sent up to the said Squakeag with supplies both of men and provision to secure the small garrison there, but before they came very near to the town, they were set upon by many hundreds of Indians out of the bushes by a swamp side. By this sudden surprisal Capt. Beers (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about 20 of his men, were slain, the rest flying back to Hadley.—Here the barbarous villains shewed their insolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of some of the slain, and fixing them upon poles near the highway, and not only so, but one (if not more) was found with a chain hooked under his jaw, and so hung up on the bough of a tree, (it is feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and discourage any that might come to their relief, and also to terrify those that should be spectators with beholding so sad an object: Insomuch that Major Treat with his company, going up two days after to fetch off the residue of the garrison were solemnly affected with that doleful sight, which made them make the more haste to bring down the garrison, not waiting

for any opportunity to take revenge upon the enemy, having but a 100 with him, too few for such a purpose. Capt. Appleton going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have persuaded them to have turned back, to see if they could make any spoil upon the enemy, but the greatest part advised to the contrary, so that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the rest for a booty to the enemy, who shall ere long pay the sad reckoning for their robberies and cruelties, in the time appointed: But the sufferings of the English were not as yet come to their height, for after they were come to Hadley, the commander in chief taking counsel with officers of the soldiers, ordered them that were then present to garrison the towns about: some to be at Northampton, Hatfield and Deerfield, and some to remain at Hadley, where were the head quarters of the English. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the enemy in those parts, it was agreed that what corn was left at Deerfield, being threshed out as well as they could in those tumults (about 3000 bushels were supposed to be there standing in stacks) should be brought to Hadley and to wait further time to fight the enemy. It came to Capt Lathrop's turn, or rather it was his choice with about 80 men to guard several carts laden with corn, and other goods. The company under Capt. Mosely then quartering at Deerfield intended that day to pursue after the enemy. But

upon Sept. 18, that most fatal day, the saddest that ever befel New-England, as the Company under Capt. Lathrop were marching along with the carts (it may be too secure) never apprehending danger so near, they were suddenly set upon, and almost all cut off, (90 killed, teamsters included) not above 7 or 8 escaping: Which great defeat came to pass by the unadvised proceedings of the Capt. (who was himself slain in the first assault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill to lead his soldiers; but having taken a wrong notion about the best way and manner of fighting with the Indians (which he was always wont to argue for viz. that it were best to deal with the Indians in their own way, scil. by skulking behind trees, and taking their aim at single persons, which is the usual manner of the Indians fighting one with another: but therein was his mistake, in not considering the great disadvantage a smaller company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude: For if five have to deal with one, they may surround him, and every one take aim at him, while he can level but at one of his enemies, at a time: Which gross mistake of his, was the ruin of a choice company of young men, the very flower of the county of Essex, all culled out of the towns belonging to that county, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate; their dear relations at home mourning for them, like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted, not only because

they were so miserably lost. The like mistake was conceived to be the reason of the loss of the former persons slain with the said Lathrop, pursuing the Indians that ran away from Hadley, and of the 20 slain with Capt. Beer's men, who betook themselves at first to the trees, and at the last a few got to their horses soon after their Captain was shot down. For had he ordered his men to march in a body, as some of his fellow-commanders advised, either backward or forward, in reason they had not lost a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the sword. For the Indians notwithstanding their subtilty and cruelty, durst not look an Englishman in the face in the open field, nor ever yet were known to kill any man with their guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in an ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered, so that although it was judged by those that escaped, that there were 7 or 800 Indians at least that encountered that Company of 80 English, yet if they had kept together in a body, and fought marching, they might have escaped the numbers of the enemy, with little loss in comparison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Capt. Mosely, and his Lieut. coming (though too late) to their rescue, marched through and through that great body of Indians, and yet came off with little or no loss in comparison of the other. And having fought all those Indians for five or six hours upon a march, lost not above two

men all that while, nor received other damage except that 8 or 9 were wounded, who were carried to their quarters at night at Hatfield, whereas if these had proceeded in the same way of fighting as Capt. Lathrop did in the morning, they might have been surrounded, and so have been served as the former were : But God had otherwise determined in his secret counsel, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a means to preserve the other company.

Other relief also was seasonably sent in, viz. a company of English and Mohegan or Pequod Indians under the command of Major Treat, who was in the morning marching another way, viz. up toward Squakeag to seek after the enemy that way, with about 100 soldiers, Indians and English, upon whose approach the enemy, pretty well acquainted by this last encounter with the valour of the English, immediately went clear away, giving Major Treat and Capt. Mosely, who returned to Deerfield that night, an opportunity to bury the slain the next day. As Capt. Mosely came upon the Indians in the morning, he found them stripping the slain, amongst them was one Robert Dutch of Ipswich, having been sorely wounded by a bullet that raised to his skull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, was left for dead by the savages, and stripped by them of all but his skin, yet when Capt. Mosely came near, he almost as one raised from the dead, came toward the English, to their no

small amazement, by whom being received and cloathed, he was carried off to the next garrison, and is living and in perfect health at this day.

This sore defeat of Capt. Lathrop and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that it so emboldened the enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable towns, though well garrisoned with soldiers, and gave them occasion of the most insolent braving the garrison at Deerfield the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the soldiers, yet on the other side of the river. However, it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the garrison-house at Deerfield, in which were not left above 27 soldiers, their Captain used this stratagem, to cause his trumpet to sound as if he had another troop near by to be called together, they turned another way and made no attempt on the house where that small number was, which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small a handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. Lathrop and his men, (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should all be forced by the hard law of the sword to forego their lives, held them at as high a rate as

they could) is not certainly known. It has since been confessed by some of the Indians themselves, that they lost 96 on that day. Capt. Mosely's men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for 4 miles together they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. Perez Savage and Mr. Pickering, his Lieutenants, deserving no little part of the honor of that day's service, being sometimes called upon to lead the company in the front, while Captain Mosely took a little breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the midst of the enemy.

The Indians gathered together in those parts, appearing so numerous, and, as might justly be supposed, growing more confident by their late successes, and the number of our men being after this sad rate diminished, recruits also not being suddenly expected, at so great a distance as a hundred miles from all supplies, the commander in chief with the officers saw a necessity of fighting that garrison at Deerfield, employing the forces they had to secure and strengthen the three next towns below upon Connecticut river. And it was well that counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched caitiffs begin to talk of great matters,

hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the towns thereabouts, as they had already begun: Their hopes no doubt, were not a little heightened by the accession of the deceitful Springfield Indians to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood the firmest to the interest of the English of all the rest in those parts: But they all hanging together, like serpents eggs, were easily persuaded to join with those of Hadley (there being so near alliance between them, for the Sachem of the Springfield Indians was father of Hadley Sachem) not only by the success of their treacherous and blood thirsty companions, but by the same inbred malice and antipathy against the English manners and religion.

The inhabitants of Springfield were not insensible of their danger, and therefore had upon the first breaking forth of these troubles been treating with their Indians, and had received from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship that could be imagined or desired, both by covenant, promises, and hostages given for security, so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: Yet did these faithless and ungrateful monsters plot with Philip's Indians to burn and destroy all Springfield, as they had done Brookfield before. To that end they sent cunningly and enticed away the hostages from Hartford, where they were, perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: Then receiving above 300 of Philip's Indians into their fort, privately in the night time,

so as they were neither discovered nor suspected. Yea so confident were such of the inhabitants as were most conversant with the Indians at their fort, that they would not believe there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one Toto an Indian at Windsor better affected to the English, (about 18 or 20 miles below Springfield, upon the same river) and so by post tidings thereof brought to Springfield the night before, insomuch that the Lieutenant of the town, Cooper by name, was so far from believing the stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to ride up to the fort, to see whether things were so or not. The fort was about a mile from the town;—when he came within a little thereof, he met those bloody and deceitful monsters, newly issued out of the *Equus Trojanus* to act their intended mischief; they presently fired upon him, divers of them, and shot him in several places through the body, yet being a man of stout courage he kept his horse, till he recovered the next garrison house, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the town of their intended mischiefs, which was instantly fired in all places where there were no garrisons. The poor people having never an officer to lead them, being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole town had been totally destroyed, but that a report of the plot being carried about over night, Major Treat came from Westfield time enough in a man.

ner for their rescue, but wanting boats to transport his men, could not do so much as he desired. Major Pyncheon coming from Hadley with Capt. Appleton and what forces they could bring along with them, 32 houses being first consumed preserved the rest of the town from being turned to ashes, in which the over credulous inhabitants might now see (what before they would not believe at the burning Major Pyncheon's barns and stables a few days before, to a very great damage of the owner) the faithless and deceitful friendship amongst those perfidious, cruel and hellish monsters.

Amongst the ruins of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the house of Mr. Peletiah Glover, minister of the town, furnished with a brave library, which he had but newly brought back from a garrison, wherein it had been for some time before secured, but as if the danger had been over with them, the said minister, a great student, and an *helluo librorum*, being impatient for want of his books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for a bonfire for the proud insulting enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said enemy that day, the burning of this town of Springfield did more than any others to discover the said actors to be the children of the devil, full of all subtilty and malice, there having been for above 40 years so good correspondence between the English of that town and the neighboring Indians; But in them is made good what is said in the Psalm, That though their words were

smoother than oil, yet were they drawn swords. After some little time spent in garrisoning the place, and helping the inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English soldiers most of them returned back to Hadley, their head-quarters, and Major Pynchon being so full of incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to himself, and his neighbors at Springfield, could not any longer attend the service of commanding in chief as he had done before, Capt. Samuel Appleton was ordered to succeed in taking the charge of the soldiers left in these upper towns, by whose industry, skill and courage, those towns were preserved from being lately turned into ashes. For the enemy growing very confident by the late successes, came with all their fury the 19th of October following upon Hatfield, hoping no less than to do the like mischief to them, as they had newly done to Springfield: but according to the good providence of Almighty God, Major Treat was newly returned to North-Hampton, capt. Mosely and capt. Poole were then garrisoning the said Hatfield, when on a sudden 7 or 800 of the enemy came upon the town in all quarters, having first killed or taken two or three of the scouts belonging to the town, and seven more belonging to capt. Mosely's company: But they were so well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the town, that they found it too hot for them. Major Appleton with great courage defended one end of the town, and

Captain Mosely as stoutly maintained the middle, and Captain Poole the other end ; that they were by the resolution of the English instantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Night coming on, it could not be discerned what loss the enemy sustained, divers were seen to fall, some run through a small river, others cast their guns into the water, it being their manner to recover the dead bodies of their friends, as to defend them when alive.

At last after the burning of some few barns, with some other buildings, the enemy hasted away as fast as they came on leaving the English to bless God who had so mercifully delivered them from of their merciless foes, who had in conceit without doubt, devoured them all. But this resolute and valiant repulse, put such a check upon the pride of the enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of those towns for the present, but winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general rendezvous at Narraganset, where we shall leave them for the present plotting their general design of accomplishing their intended mischief against the English the next Spring.

Our western plantations upon Connecticut river where the stage whereon were acted the most remarkable passages of this barbarous war hitherto, which was soon after removed into many other places of the country in the winter and spring following, whither our discourse must in the next place pursue it. There was not any great matter

acted by the enemy amongst the plantations upon the great river during the winter after the assault made upon Hatfield October 19th. It is evident that the body of them returned to Narraganset upon the approach of the winter, which set in more early than it used to other years. Where Philip did bestow himself in the winter season is not so certain, some say that he repaired further westward, to try his fortune with those Indians that lie towards Albany, near the Dutch river: Others more probably conceive that they lay hid in some part of the Narraganset country; for though he was not certainly known to be about the fort at Narraganset, when it was taken by our forces in the winter, yet as soon as ever they were driven out of the country in February, he was found amongst them that did the mischief at Lancaster in that month.

The expedition into the Narraganset country follows in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice must be taken by the way, of an unsuccessful attempt upon the Indians about Hassanemesit (now called Grafton) and Peppachuog, whether Capt. Henchman was sent in the beginning of November; where capt. Sill was ordered to meet him with another company from Cambridge, with intent to have beat up the Indian quarters in those parts: They being known to have had a hand in the outrages committed upon those that belonged to Marlbor-

ough and Mendham, cutting off the scalp of a miller's boy who is yet alive.

November 1st, 1675, Capt. HENCHMAN marched out of Boston, intending to visit the Indians about Hassanemesit: The third day they saw some fires of the Indians, yet could not meet with them that made them: The 4th day they marched to some part of the Indian plantations called Hassanemesit.

The Captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this side, but some of his officers overruled him, to whose importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further toward the enemy, and by that means saved the miller's youth, taken the week before from Malborough; for in the morning very early, as the scouts were looking out, they espied a Wigwam, where some Indians that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night, or in some wigwam near by. When the Indians saw our soldiers they hastened away, and left the Malborough youth behind them, who by that means escaped their hands. Our men under Capt. HENCHMAN marched on to Poppachuog, and finding the Indians all fled, although they perceived by a messenger accidentally sent back, that the Indians followed them all that way that they marched, they came back to Mendham to settle things in that town. Some of the inhabitants informed them of some Indian Wigwams about ten miles off: The Captain with Philip Curtice, his Lieut. resolved to give them a camisado in their Wigwams that night.

To that end they mounted 22 upon horses, riding on about ten miles into the woods, and when they came near the wigwams, they dismounted, and intended presently to march up, and give an assault upon them, after they had first made a shout to fright the enemy: They ordered one half to follow the Lieut. the other to follow the captain, when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their dogs began to bark, at which they stopped, and by marching again, intended presently to fire upon them, but the captain's foot slipping, he could hardly recover himself, when suddenly looking behind him, he saw no man following of him: The Lieut. had five behind him, who with those five resolutely fired on that side he was appointed to make the assault upon; but they were repulsed by the Indians, who firing out of their dens, shot down the Lieut. and another the rest presently escaped to a fence: the Capt. with all vehemency urged them to stay, they replied, they went back only to charge, yet went clear away, by which means, together with the cowardice of the former, so sad a loss befel the company, as could not easily be repaired: However, the enemy presently deserted the wigwam and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and so with grief and shame were constrained to return to their quarters at Mendham, to whose inhabitants they gave notice of 200 bushels of corn belonging to the Indians, that might have been pre-

served, which for want of hands was lost by the fire that the enemy might not be benefited thereby. It appears by the foregoing passage, that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further trials to acquaint us with before he would turn his hand upon our enemies. But it pleased the Lord in mercy so to order things, that they themselves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as shall more fully appear in that which follows.

The English plantations about Hadley being for the present set a little at liberty by the Indians drawing off, like seamen after a storm, counted it their best course to repair their tackling against another that may be next coming, wherefore the inhabitants concluded it the safer way to make a kind of barricado about their towns, by setting up pallisadoes or cleft wood, about eight feet long, as it were to break the force of any sudden assault which counsel proved very successful; for, although it be an inconsiderable defence against a warlike enemy, that has strength enough, and confidence to besiege a place, yet it is sufficient to prevent any sudden assault of such a timorous and barbarous enemy as there were, for although they did afterwards in the spring break through those pallisadoes at Northampton, yet as soon as ever they began to be repulsed, they saw themselves like wolves in a pound, that they could not fly away at their pleasure, so as they never advanced to break through afterward upon any of the towns so secured.

As for those of Springfield they were now and then alarmed with a few skulking Indians lurking about in the adjacent woods; as once at the Long-Meadow, where half a score of them were seen about a house remote from the town, who were pursued by a party of the English towards Windsor, and so escaped, after the English had made one shot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of those barbarous wretches killed a poor man belonging to Springfield, as he was going to his house to look after his corn, on the other side of the river, and after they had killed the man, they burnt down his house; yet attempted no further mischief upon that part of the town that had escaped the fury of the flames, Oct. 5. By which it is evident, that all the number of Indians that had assaulted them before, had withdrawn themselves now to their winter quarters, some to the Dutch river, but the greatest number of them to be sure were found in the winter at the Narraganset fort, where we shall leave them for the present till the forces of the united colonies shall fire them out of their nests.

The commissioners of the united colonies taking into serious consideration the present state of things, viz. that there were before this time so many hundreds gathered together into one body, and that there was great reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next spring they might all rise together as one man round about us, and that one town after another

might easily be destroyed, before any help could be dispatched to them. On one hand, the sharpness of the winter in these parts was well weighed, so extreme that it might hazard the life of a thousand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open field; as also the difficulty, if not impossibility of sending any relief to them at any distance, the depth of snow usually making the ways unpassable for divers months together.

On the other hand, it was considered, that if the enemy were let alone till the next summer, it would be impossible to deal with them, or find them any where, but they might waste one company of soldiers after another, as was seen by the experience of the former year. Considering also that the Narragansets, the most numerous of all the rest, and the best provided of provision of all the other Indians, had now declared themselves our enemies, who if they were let alone till the winter was over, we should be unable to deal with so many enemies at once, that could on a sudden on any occasion spread themselves like grasshoppers all over the country.

It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the winter quarters of our enemies, by a more considerable army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three colonies, and that with all expedition, at farthest not to exceed the 10th of December, before they should have a thousand men in arms, ready for the design.

As for the late league made or rather renewed with

the Narragansets, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had along from the first day when it was confirmed, broken every article of it, especially in not delivering up the enemies, which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses, to defer it one week after another, till at the last they would be excused till the next spring, upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. And besides, the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole body of the enemy with victuals, upon all occasions. It was likewise strongly suspected that in all the late proceedings of the enemy, many of their young men were known to be actually in arms against us, many of whom were found either wounded amongst them in their wigwams, or elsewhere occasionally seen returning back, after exploits abroad, to be healed of their wounds at home. Also some of our mens guns that were lost at Deerfield, were found in the fort when it was fired.—Therefore all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war being removed, the only question was, whether it were feasible and expedient in the winter. The exigent was very great, and the choice very hard. But as David when he was streightened with many difficulties at once, chose rather to fall into the hands of God whose mercies were great, though he might be provoked to cause his jealousy to smook against those of his own her-

stage for a time; so in this exigent it was generally conceived to be most expedient for the country, to cast themselves upon the providence of a merciful and gracious God, rather than by delays to expose themselves to the treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy.

A War therefore speedily to be carried on in the very depth of winter, being agreed upon, care was taken for supplies, as their difficulty of such an affair so circumstanced did require, though possibly not with so much necessary care, and so suitable provision, as had been desired, if what came afterward to pass could have been foreseen (which peradventure might be the reason things went on so heavily for want of well oiling the wheels) in the mean time a small army of a thousand fighting men, well appointed were ordered by the Commissioners to be gathered by proportion out of all the colonies, of which number the share of the Massachusetts was to be 527, the rest were to be supplied out of Plymouth and Connecticut colonies: All other supplies were taken care for, as well as the suddenness of the expedition, and difficulty of the season would allow. The said thousand men, beside some volunteers of Indian friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be had, called together, and a commission granted to the honorable Josiah Winslow, Esq. the present Governor of Plymouth colony, a man of known ability and integrity, every way so well qualified

with courage and resolution, as well as prudence and discretion, as might have preferred him to the conduct of a far greater army than ever is like to be gathered together in this part of the world, in this or following generations. And indeed as he was the first Governor over any of the united colonies in New-England, of them that were born in the place, so may he well pass for a pattern of any of the succeeding race, that may come after.

Under him as command in Chief, were ordered six companies from the Massachusetts, under the command of Major Appleton, Capt. Mosely, Capt. Gardener, Capt. Davenport, Capt. Oliver, Capt. Johnson; five companies from Connecticut, under Major Treat, Capt. Siely, Capt. Gallop, Capt. Mason, Capt. Watts, and Capt. Marshal; two companies from Plymouth, under Maj. Bradford, & Capt. Garam.

Under the Governor of Plymouth, as Commander in Chief in this expedition, were sent as Majors of the forces belonging to each colony; Major Robert Treat, for the forces belonging to Connecticut, and Major Bradford, for those of the colony of Plymouth, and Major Samuel Appelton, for those of the Massachusetts, to whom by the honorable Major General of the colony, were six companies of foot, delivered at Dedham, Dec. 9, 1675, containing in number 465 fighting men, besides a troop of horse, under the command of Capt. Thomas Prentice, attending upon them. That night they marched to Woodcock's, about 27 miles from Dedham. The

next night they arrived at Seaconck, Capt. Mosely and his company went thence with Mr. Smith, by water, the rest ferried over the water to Providence.

The next day, Dec. 12, they passed over Patuxet river, and then marching through Pomham's county, at night they met with Capt. Mosely and his company, at Mr. Smith's in Wickford, the place intended for their head-quarters. Capt. Mosely in his way thither had happily surprised 36 Indians, one whom he took along with him as a guide, Peter by name, that was at that time under some disgust with his countrymen, or his Sachem, which made him prove the more real friend to our forces in that service, wherein he faithfully performed what he promised, and without his assistance our men would have been much at a loss to have found the enemy, until it had been too late to have fought them.

Two days after Dec. 14, five files of men sent out under Serjeant Bennet, and another upon the scout, killed one man and one woman, and brought in four more by 1 o'clock: The whole company marched after into some of the Sachem's country, where they burnt a 150 wigwams, killed 7 of the enemy, and brought in 8 prisoners when they returned at night.

The next day an Indian, called Stone-wall John, pretended to come from the Sachems, intimating their willingness to have peace with the English; yet could the messenger hardly forbear threatening, vapouring of their numbers and strength, adding

withal that the English durst not fight them: Whatever were pretended by this treacherous fellow, some of his crew as he went home met with some of Capt. Gardner's men; that were stragling about their own business, contrary to order, and slew his sergeant with one or two more. Two also of Capt. Oliver's men were killed in like manner; a solemn warning for soldiers not to be too venturesome in an enemy's country. For preventing the like mischief upon other companies, more care was taken as they passed to the head-quarters, some of the companies being lodged three miles therefrom.—Capt. Mosely's, Capt. Davenport's, and Capt. Oliver's Companies being to the general quarters, a few desperate Indians, creeping under a stone wall, near the place, fired twenty or thirty guns at Mosely in particular, a commander well known amongst them, but the rest of the company running down upon them, killed one of them, and scattered the rest.

The next day Capt. Prentice with his troop, being sent to Pettysquamscot returned with the sad news of burning Jerry Bull's garrison house, and killing 10 English men and five women and children, but two escaped in all. This is the chance of war which they who undertake, must prepare to undergo.

The next day brought from the same place a little better news though not enough to balance the sorrow of the former, viz. that Connecticut forces were come thither with three hundred English,

and a hundred and fifty Mohegans, ready fixed to war on the behalf of the English against the Narragansets, their mortal enemies; and by the way meeting a party of the enemy, they slew five or 6 of them and took as many prisoners. The whole number of all our forces being now come, he want of provision with the sharpness of the cold, minded them of expedition, wherefore the very next day, the whole body of the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces marched away to Pettyquamscot, intending to engage the enemy the first opportunity that next offered itself: To the which resolution these of Connecticut presently consented, as soon as they met together, which was about five o'clock in the afternoon; Bull's house intended for their general rendezvous being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no shelter left either for officers or private soldiers, so as they were necessitated to march on toward the enemy through the snow, in a cold stormy evening, finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor any other covering than a cold and moist fleece of snow. Through all these difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, December 19th, till one o'clock in the afternoon, without either fire to warm them, or respite to take any food, save what they could chew in their march.— Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen miles through the country of the old Queen, or Sunke Squaw of Narraganset, they came at one o'clock upon the

edge of the swamp where their guide assured them they should find Indians enough before night.

Our forces chopping thus upon the seat of the enemy; upon the sudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of battle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault. As they marched Capt. Mosely and Capt. Davenport led the van, Maj. Appleton and Capt. Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces; General Winslow with the Plymouth forces marched in the center; those of Connecticut came up in the rear of the whole body: But the frontiers discerning Indians in the edge of the swamp, fired immediately upon them, who answering our men in the same language, retired presently into the swamp, our men followed them in a main, without staying for the word of command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any stand till they came to the side of the fort, into which the Indians that first fired upon them betook themselves.

It seems that there was but one entrance into the fort, tho' the enemy found many ways to come out, but neither the English or their guide well knew on which side the entrance lay; nor was it easy to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led Israel sometimes by the pillar of fire, and the cloud of his presence, a right way thro' the wilderness, so did he now di-

rect our forces upon that side the fort, where they might only enter through not without utmost danger and hazard. The fort was raised upon a kind of island of five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp; the sides of it were made of palizadoes, set upright, the which was compassed about with a hedge of almost a rod thickness, through which there was no passing, it being so exceeding strong, unless they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves, was upon a long tree over a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so way laid that they must have been cut off that had ventured there: But at one corner there was a cap made up only with a long tree, about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might easily pass: But they had placed a kind of a block-house right over against the said tree, from whence they sorely galled our men that first entered, some being shot dead upon the tree, as Capt. Johnson; and some as soon as they entered, as was Capt. Davenport; so as they that first entered were forced presently to retire, and fall upon their bellies till the fury of the enemy's shot was pretty well spent, which some companies that did not discern the danger, not observing, lost sundry of their men, but as the last two companies being brought up, besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another, to make an other assault, one

of the commanders crying out, they run, they run, which did so encourage the soldiers that they presently entered amain. After a considerable number were well entered, they presently beat the enemy out of a flanker on the left hand, which did a little shelter our men from the enemy's shot till more company came up, and so by degrees made up higher, first into the middle, and then into the upper end of the fort, till at last they made the enemy all retire from their sconces, and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead bodies upon the place. Connecticut soldiers marching up in the rear, being not aware of the dangerous passage over the tree, in command of the enemy's block-house, where at their entrance many of them were shot down, although they came on with as gallant resolution as any of the rest, under the conduct of their wise and valiant leader, Major Treat.

The brunt of the battle, or danger that day lay most upon the commanders whose part it was to lead on their several companies in the very face of death, or else all had been lost : so as all of them with great valour and resolution of mind, as not at all afraid to die in so good a cause, bravely led on their men in this desperate assault ; leaving their lives in their place as the best testimony of their valour, and of love to the cause of God and their country : No less than six brave Captains fell that day in the assault, viz. Captains, Davenport, Gardner and Johnson, of Massachusetts, besides Lieut.

Upham, who died some months after of his wounds received at that time, Capt. Gallup also, and Capt. Seily, and Capt. Marshall, were slain of those belonging to Connecticut colony. It is usually seen that the valour of the soldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their commanders, yet was it found here, that the soldiers were rather enraged than discouraged by the loss of their commanders, which made them redouble their courage, and not give back after they were entered the second time, till they had driven out their enemies : So after much blood and many wounds dealt on both sides ; the English seeing their advantage began to fire the wigwams, where was supposed to be many of the enemy's women and children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of their smoak-ey cells.

It is reported by them who first entered the Indians fort, that our soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their dinner, but our sudden and unexpected assault put them beside that work, making their cook-rooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their mitchin fried together : And probably, some of them eat their suppers in a colder place that night : Most of their provision as well as their huts being then consumed with fire, and those that were left alive forced to hide themselves in a cedar swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but boughs of spruce and pine trees :

For after two or three hours fight, the English became masters of the place, but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the day light was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some say more, with their dead and wounded men they were to march a difficulty scarce to be believed, as not to be paralleled almost in any former age.

It is very difficult to say who acquitted themselves best in that day's service, either the soldiers for their manlike valour in fighting, or the Commanders for their wisdom and courage, leading on in the very face of death. There might one have seen the whole body of that little regimental army, as busy as bees in a hive, some bravely fighting with the enemy, others hauling off and carrying away the dead and wounded men (which I rather note) that none may want the due testimony of their valour and faithfulness, though all ought to say, not unto us, but unto thy name. O Lord, &c.

For though there might not be above three or four hundred at any time within the fort at once, yet the rest in their turns came up to do what the exigence of the service required in bringing off the dead and wounded men : Massachusetts regiment, together with Captain Mosely, was very serviceable, for by that means, the fort being clear of the dead bodies, it struck a greater

terror into the enemy, to see but eight or ten dead bodies of the English left, than to meet with so many hundreds of their own slain and wounded carcasses. The number of the slain was not then known on the enemy's side, because our men were forced to leave them on the ground : But our victory was found afterwards to be much more considerable than at the first was apprehended ; for although our loss was very great, not only because of the desperateness of the attempt itself (in such a season of the year, and at such a distance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men perished, which might otherwise have been preserved, if they had not been forced to march so many miles in a cold snowy night, before they could be dressed) yet the enemy lost so many of their principal fighting men, their provision also was by the burning of their wigwams, so much of it spoiled, at the taking of their fort, and by surprizing so much of their own corn about that time also ; that it was the occasion of their total ruin afterwards. They being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from planting for the next year, as well as deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the enemy were slain is uncertain, it was confessed by one Potock, a great Councillor amongst them, afterward taken at Rhode-Island, and put to death at Boston, that the Indians lost 700 fighting men that day, besides 300 that died of their

wounds, the most of them : The number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was eighty of the English slain, and 150 wounded. that recovered afterwards.

There were several circumstances in this victory very remarkable.

First, the meeting with one Peter a fugitive Indian, that upon some discontent, flying from the Naraganset, offered himself to the service of the English and did faithfully perform what he promised, viz. to lead them to the swamp where the Indians had seated themselves within a fort rised on an Island of firm earth, in the midst of a swamp, whither none of the English could have piloted them without his assistance, the place being near eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, There being by a special providence directed just to a place where they found so easy entrance, which if they missed they could never have made way through the hedge, with which they had surrounded the palizadoes of the fort in a half day's time.

And Thirdly, If they had entered by the way left by the Indians for passage, they might have been cut off, before they could have come near their fortification.

Lastly, In directing their motion to begin the assault just at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of snow the next day, that they could not have passed through it in divers weeks after: And on a sudden there fell such a thaw, that melted away both ice and snow, so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place.

All which considerations put together, make it a signal favour of God to carry them through so many difficulties to accomplish their desired end. For after they were retired to their quarters, but sixteen miles from that place, there was so great want of provision, the vessels being frozen in at the harbour about Cape-Cod, that should have brought them relief, and the frost and snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the force they could make (so many of their ablest soldiers being slain and wounded) to have made another onset: But the goodness of Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the hardships they endured that winter, in very cold lodgings, hard marches, scarcity of provision, yet not one man was known to die by any disease or bodily distemper, save them that perished of their wounds.

Our forces being compelled by the aforesaid occasions, to lie still some weeks after, hoped also that the enemy so sorely broken, would gladly have

sued for peace : But as was said of old, God hardened their hearts to their own ruin and destruction afterwards. For as our soldiers were able to march finding that all the enemy's overtures of peace, and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time that they might get away into the woods ; they pursued after them, and sometimes came upon their rear, but then they would immediately fly a hundred ways at once into the swamps, so as our men could not follow them, or if they did, could not see two of them together, so that now there was little good like to be done, unless they could take them at some advantage. At length having spent all their provision, and tiring themselves in pursuing of them sixty or seventy miles, up through the woods towards Marlborough and Lancaster, towns that lie on the road to Connecticut, having killed and taken near 70 of them, our soldiers were ordered to return towards Boston, to recruit themselves, supposing that the Narragansets, and those with them were so enfeebled that they would have no mind suddenly to assault any of the English towns.

If any desire a more particular account of the loss which we sustained at the taking of the Narraganset fort Dec. 19th 1675, they may take is as here it follows :

Besides the six Captains mentioned before that either were slain in the assault, or died afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut,

of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldness of the weather although it be a good besom to sweep the chamber of the air (which might be the reason there was no more diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcome companion to wearied, especially to wounded men, in so long a retreat.

But the want of provision falling in conjunction with the unseasonableness of the weather, and length of the way, hindered our forces from any new attempt upon the enemy; which if they could have attended, it was thought it might have put an end to our troubles, but he that holdeth the scales of victory in his hand turneth them to which side, and by what degrees pleaseth him best.

The rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace; both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the winter, with the short slumber of a pretended peace, at least with a talk or dream thereof: Our Commanders aim therein was christian and good, if it had proceeded, viz. to have prevented the shedding of more blood: And possibly some of the elder and wiser of the enemy, did really desire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full proof of the valour and resolution of the English, which some of them upon former successes might be ready to question) and they could not but see their destruction already began, in the loss of their

dwellings, and all their provisions, as well as the slaughter of the best part of their fighting men ; but through consciousness of their barbarous treachery and falshood, they could not trust others and so were willing to run the utmost hazard, as people hardened to their own destruction. The particular passages of the treaty being carried on by the enemy only in pretence, and by our men (that soon discerned their fraud) rather out of necessity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them a new, than any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However, though the foot were unable to do any service in the depth of the snow, and sharpness of the cold, the troop was sent out upon all occasions to scout about the country, who brought in daily much of the enemy's corn and beans, which they had hid in barns under the ground, or at least kept them for making use of their own provision, or spoiling the English cattle ; now and then also bringing in prisoners from their quarters, as they were straggling about to get victuals.

On the 28th of December, a squaw was sent to them, who had been taken in the fight, with a proffer of peace, if they would submit to such terms as were propounded ; the principal of which was, the delivering up of all Philip's Indians that were with them ; the squaw returned, not pretending that she was lame and unable to come again ; but the 30th of December, an Indian came from the Sachems

with seeming thanks for the peace profered, yet complained we made war upon them, and gave them no notice; but his mouth was soon stopped, by the answer they made him: he owned, as the squaw had said before, that they lost 300 of their best fighting men, and so did two prisoners of theirs, taken January the 4th, whereof one being of Philip's company, was put to death. The messenger that was sent was fairly dismissed, with the express mention of what terms they must expect, if they desired a peace.

January 10th, fresh supplies of troops came up from Boston, wading through a sharp storm of snow, that bit some of them by the heels with the frost. The next day one that came with them, going out with the scouts, fell among the Indians barns, in one of which, as he was grooping to find corn for the relief of his horse, he caught hold of an Indian's hair, under the leaves, who presently held up his hands, when the soldier was drawing his sword, to spare his life, which was granted, but after he was brought to the head quarters, he would own nothing but what was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord, wherefore he was presently judged to die as a Wompanoog.

Within a few days after, about the 16th of January the scouts brought in one Joshua Tift, a renegade Englishman, of Providence, that upon some discontent among his neighbours, had turned Indian, married one of the Indian squaws, renounced

his religion, nation, and natural parents, all at once, fighting against them. He was taken by Capt. Fenner, of Providence, who with some of his neighbours were pursuing some Indians that had driven away their cattle. This Tift being one of the company, was wounded in the knee, and so was seized by the English; he had in his habit conformed himself to them amongst whom he lived. After examination, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor. As to his religion he was found as ignorant as a heathen, which no doubt caused the fewer tears to be shed at his funeral, standers-by being unwilling to lavish pity upon him that had divested himself of nature itself, as well as religion, in a time when so much pity was needed elsewhere, and nothing left besides wherewith to relieve the sufferers.

About the 10th February after some hundred of the Indians, whether Nipnets or Nashway men (is uncertain) belonging to him they call Sagamore Sam, and possibly some of the Narragansets that had escaped the winter brunt, fell upon Lancaster a small village, of about fifty or sixty families, and did much mischief, burning most of the houses that were not garrisoned : And which is most sad and awful to consider, the house of Mr. Rowlandson, minister of the said Lancaster, which was garrisoned by a competent number of the inhabitants ; yet the fortification of the house being on the back side, closed up with fire-wood, the Indians got so

near as to fire a leanter, which burning the house immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put the hard choice, either to perish by the flames, with the house, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel savages, which last (considering that a living dog is better than a dead lion) they chose, and so were forty-two persons surprized by the Indians, above twenty of the women and children they carried away captive a rueful spectacle to behold ; the rest being men, they killed in the place, or reserved for further misery ; and many that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The minister himself was occasionally absent, to seek help from the Governor and council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children surprized, and being carried away by the enemy, and his house turned into ashes, yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God, as David at Ziglag, that he would always say, he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come to pass within five or six months after ; all, save the youngest, which being wounded at the first died soon after among the Indians.

Upon the report of this disaster, capt. Wadsworth, then at Marlborough, with about forty resolute men, adventuring the rescuing of the town that was remaining : And having recovered a bridge they got over safe, though the planks were pulled

off by the enemy, and being led up in a way, not discovered by them, they forced the Indians to quit the place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the pleasure of the insulting foe.

The western towns above Connecticut were the chief seat of war, and felt most of the mischiefs therefore, in the end of the year 1675 ; but the scene is now to be changed ; and the other towns and villages that lie eastward, nearer Boston, must bear the part in the like tragedies : For as was said before, the Narragansets having been driven out of the country, fled through Nipnet plantations, towards Watchuset hills, meeting with all the Indians that had harbour all winter in those woods about Nashway, they all combined against the English, yet divided their numbers, and one half of them were observed to bend their course toward Plymouth, taking Medfield in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, February 21st, 1675, as their fellows had done Lancaster ten days before.

The surprisal of this Medfield, in regard of some remarkable circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular relating as to the manner thereof : The loss of Lancaster had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring villages, all to stand upon their guard ; and some had obtained garrisoned soldiers for their greater

security, as was the case with the town of Medfield, within twenty-two miles of Boston.

And at that time were lodged therein several garrison soldiers, besides the inhabitants ; yet being billeted up and down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the town was set on fire, and many of the inhabitants slain, which how it could be effected is strange to believe : But most of those inland plantations being overrun with young wood (the inhabitants being very apt to engross more land into their hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated in the midst of a heap of bushes : Their enemies took the advantage thereof, and secretly over night, conveyed themselves round about the town, some getting under the sides of their barns and fences of their orchards, as is supposed where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they suddenly set upon sundry houses, shooting them that came first out of doors, and then fired their houses, especially those houses where the inhabitants were repaired to garrisons, were fit for the purpose : Some were killed as they attempted to fly to their neighbours for shelter : Some were only wounded, and some were taken alive and carried captive : In some houses the husband running away with one child, the wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped. They began at the east end of the town, that seems to have been the signal to the rest, to fall on other parts :

Most of the houses in the west, or south-west end were soon burnt down: A poor old man of near a hundred years old, was burnt in one house that was consumed by fire.

The Lieut. of the town, Adams by name, was shot down by his own door, and his wife mortally wounded by a gun fired afterwards accidentally into the house. After the burning of 40 or 50 houses and barns, the cannibals were frightened away out of the town, over a bridge that lies upon Charles-River, by the shooting off a piece of ordinance two or 3 times: When they had passed over a bridge, they fired one end thereof to hinder our men from pursuing them, they were thought to be above 500; there were slain and mortally wounded, 17 or 18 persons, besides others dangerously hurt. The loss sustained by the inhabitants amounted to above 2000 pounds. This mercy was observed in this sad providence, that never a garrison house was lost in this surprisal; nor any of the principal dwellings, so as the chiefest and best of their buildings escaped the fury of the enemy, who as they passed the bridge, left a writing behind them, expressing something to this purpose, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us these 20 years (but they fell short of their expectation by 19) adding also, that they had nothing to loose, whereas we had houses, barns, and corn: These were some of the bold threats used by the barbarous crew, but their rage shall proceed no farther than the counsel of God had deter-

mined. The week before was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of wolves round the town, and was looked upon by divers persons, as an ominous presaging of the following calamity.

Another assault was feared, but as soon as the soldiers could be gathered together, they turned their backs, as if they never intended to visit them more: whither these Indians went when they left Medfield, is not so certainly known; the soldiers in the town not having opportunity to pursue them over the river, by reason that the bridge was part of it burned: But it is most probably that they took their way toward Plymouth, and continued about that side of the country for the future, waiting opportunities to do what mischief they could to the English in those parts. For within a month after this assault of Medfield, there was near 600 of them seen about Pautuxet and Providence where Capt. Pierce, with about fifty of his men were lost though with no great advantage to the enemy, who at that time lost above double that number: On worthy Captains in this and other exploits, being called to imitate Sampson, who was content to die with his enemies, that he might overthrow them thereby: It having so fallen out with many of our choice Commanders and soldiers at Deerfield, Narraganset, Pautuxet, and likewise not long after at Sudbury.

The Governor and Council of Plymouth perceiving by the report of these outrages committed

upon the towns of the Massachusetts, that they were like to be visited this spring by their old neighbours, sent out Capt. Pierce, of Scituate, about the latter end of March, with about fifty English, and twenty of their christian Indians, about Cape-Cod, who proved none of his worst soldiers, as the sequel of this his last expedition will declare.

Capt. Pierce, as is said before, being sent out to pursue the enemy, marched towards Pautuxet where he understood the Indians were many of them gathered: He being a man of resolute courage, was willing to engage them though upon never at so great disadvantage: Some say the Indians by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of ambush; possibly more of themselves after he began to engage than he was aware of; and being got over the river, in pursuit of them, where he discovered so great a number of them, he drew down towards the side of the river, hoping the better by that means to prevent their surrounding of him; but that proved his overthrow which he intended as his greatest advantage: For the Indians getting over the river so galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himself; thus assaulted on all sides, and himself not being able to travel much a foot, was thereby hindred from retiring to any better place in time, so as he saw himself constrained to fight it out to the last, which he did with most undaunted courage, and as is said, to the slaughter of a hundred and forty of his enemies, before him-

self and his company were cut off. It is said also, that being apprehensive of the danger he was in, by the great numbers of the enemy like to overpower him with their multitude, he sent a messenger timely enough to Providence, for relief, but as Solomon saith, a faithful messenger is as snow in harvest, another is a smoke to the eyes, and vinegar to the teeth. (Whether through sloth or cowardice, is not much material) this message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent; by accident only some of Rehoboth understanding of the danger, after the evening exercise (it being on the Lord's day, March 26th, 1676) repairing to the place, but then it was too late to bring help, unless it were to be spectators of the dead carcasses of their friends, and to perform the last office of love to them.

It is worth the noting, what faithfulness and courage some of the christian Indians, with the said Capt. Pierce, shewed in the fight: One of them, whose name was Amos, after the Captain was shot in his leg or thigh, so as he was not able to stand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his gun several times, fired stoutly upon the enemy, till he saw that there was no possibility for him to do any further good to Capt. Pierce, nor yet to save himself, if he stayed any longer; therefore he used this policy, perceiving the enemy had all blacked their faces, he also stooping down pulled out some blacking out of a pouch he carried with

him, discoloured his face therewith, and so making himself look as like Hobamackco, as any of his enemies, he ran amongst them a little while, and was taken for one of them, as if he had been searching for the English, until he had an opportunity to escape away among the bushes ; therein imitating the cuttle fish, which when it is pursued, or in danger, casteth out of its body a thick humour, as black as ink, through which it passeth away unseen by the pursuer.

It is reported of another of these Cape Indians (friends to the English of Plymouth) that being pursued by one of the enemy he betook himself to a great rock, where he sheltered himself for a while at last perceiving that his enemy lay ready with his gun on the other side, to discharge upon him, as he stirred never so little away from the place where he stood : In the issue he thought of this politic stratagem to save himself, and destroy his enemy (for as Solomon said of old, wisdom is better than weapons of war) he took a stick, and hung his hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be seen, and so become a fit mark for the other that watched to take aim at him ; The other taking it to be his head, fired a gun and shot through the hat ; which our christian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his head and discharged his own gun upon the real head, not the hat, of his adversary, whereby he shot him dead up-

on the place and so had liberty to march away with the spoils of his enemy.

The like subtle device was used by another of the Cape Indians at the same time, being one of them that went out with Capt. Pierce ; for being in like manner pursued by one of Phillip's Indians, as the former was, he nimbly got behind the butt end of a tree, newly turned up by the roots, which carried a considerable breadth of the surface of the earth along with it as is very usual in these parts, where the roots of the trees lie deep in the ground, which stood above the Indian's height, in form of a large shield, only it was somewhat too heavy to be easily removed ; the enemy Indian lay with his gun ready to shoot him down upon his first deserting his station ; but a subtle wit taught our christian Netop a better device for boring a little hole through his broad shield, he discerned his enemy, who could not easily discern him : a good musketier need never desire a fairer mark to shoot at, whereupon discharging his gun, he shot him down : What can be more just than he should be killed, who lay in wait to kill another man? *neque enim lex justior ulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

Instances of this nature shew the subtlety and dexterousness of these natives, if they were improved in feats of arms : And possibly if some of the English had not been too shy in making use of such of them as were well affected to their interest, they need never have suffered so much from their

enemies ; it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very serviceable and helpful to the English ; they usually proving good seconds, though they have not ordinaly confidence enough to make the first onset. But to return to the proceedings of the Indians towards Plymouth.

February 25th, they assaulted Weymouth, and burnt seven or eight houses and barns there which Weymouth is a town lying towards Plymouth colony.

March 12th, following, they assaulted the house of one Mr. Clarke, in Plymouth, cruelly murdered eleven persons that belonging to two families that lodged therein, and then fired the house. The cruelty towards these persons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindness from the said Clarke. It is the usual custom of such debtors, to use them worst, of whom they had taken up much kindness upon trust before hand.

March 17th, another party of them fell upon Warwick, a place beyond Philip's land, toward the Narraganset country, where they burnt down to the ground all but a few houses, which they left standing as a monument of their barbarous fury. The like mischief was acted by them upon the houses of the English remaining in the Narraganset country.

This 26th day of March, being the first day of the week, as the first of the year after our Julian account, seemed ominous at the first, on sundry accounts threatening a gloomy time, yet proved in the issue, but as a lowering morning before a light-some day.

For besides the burning of Marlborough, at least a great part of it, on the same day, a very sad accident fell out the same time at Springfield, as shall be specified hereafter; besides that which befell Captain Pierce, which is already related, with whom fell so many of his soldiers on the same day also; yet had the enemy no cause to boast, being forced by the valour of the English, to give so many of their own lives in exchange: Some few made their escape, as is said, by subtle devices: Besides the three forementioned, another by a like shift, not only saved himself, but helped an Englishman to escape also, whom he ran after, with his hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him; whereby both of them made a shift to get away; the rest were all lost (the unfaithfulness of the messenger being as was intimated before, the cause of their slaughter) unto a few that hardly escaped by the advantage of the bushes, giving them opportunity to pass unseen, yet was it confessed by a prisoner of the enemy, taken afterward by the English, that they lost a hundred and forty in that encounter: And had not the said English by wading after the enemy over a river, made their ammuni-

tion useless, there had not half so many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards Rehoboth, near Swanzy, where on March 28th, they burnt thirty barns, and near upon forty dwelling-houses, thereby as it were threatening the utter desolation of that poor town; and so proceeding on that side the country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houses in Providence; in their way toward Narraganset.

But it was now full sea with Philip's affairs, for soon after the tide of his successes began to turn about the sea coast, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the country. For about this time news came to Boston that our neighbours and friends of Connecticut colony, hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that side of the country, sent a party of their soldiers, under the command of Capt. George Denison, with some friendly Indians, part Mohegans and Pequods; part Nianticks, belonging to Ninigret, a Narraganset Sachem, who never engaged in this quarrel against the English; who in pursuit of the enemy, meeting with a considerable part of them about the Narraganset country, killed and took forty five of them, without the loss of one of their own men. This victory was the more considerable, in that several of the chief Captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken; amongst whom was Cononchet (who came down to get seed corn to plant at Squakheag) he was the Chief Sachem of

all the Narragansets, the son of Miantonihos and the heir of all his father's pride and insolence as well as of his malice against the English, a most perfidious villian who had the last October been at Boston pretending to make a firm peace with the English, but never intending to keep one article thereof: Therefore as a just reward of the wickedness he was adjudged by those that took him, to die, which was accordingly put in execution at Stonington, whether he was carried; there his head being cut off, was carried to Hartford: The Mohegans and Pequods that had the honor to take him prisoner having the honour likewise of doing justice upon him and that by the prudent advice of the English commanders thereby the more firmly to engage the said Indians against the treacherous Narragansets. There are differing reports about the manner of his taking, and by whom whether the Indians or the English first took him; however, it was sufficient matter of rejoicing to all colonies of the English that the ringleader of almost all this mischief, and great incendiary betwixt the Narragansets and us, died himself by that sword of war which he had drawn against others.

Concerning the Narragansets, this is further to be added here, that Mr. Thomas Stanton, and his son Robert, who have a long time lived amongst them, and best acquainted with their language and manners of any in New-England, do affirm, that to their knowledge, the Narraganset Sachems before

the late troubles, had two thousand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms, yet they are at this day so broken and scattered, that there is none of them left on that side of the country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in number, that have sheltered themselves under the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, as a merchant of that place, worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the writer hereof. It is very considerable by what degrees the Narragansets have been consumed, shot and destroyed.

The first week in April, 1676, Canonchet, their chief Sachem having with his people been driven out of his own country, by the sword of the English, the winter before, breathed still nothing but rage and cruelty against them, bearing himself upon his great numbers: Yet as appeared in the issue, himself and they that escaped with him, were not so much preserved from the present calamity that befel the rest in their fort, as reserved to another and more ignominious death. For the whole body of the Indians to the westward, trusting under the shadow of that aspiring bramble; he took a kind of care of them upon himself: wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not subsist without planting, he propounded it in his council, that all the western plantations upon Connecticut river, taken from the English, should this last summer be planted with Indian corn; which was indeed in itself a very prudent consideration: To that end he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men the rest

declining it, to fetch seed-corn from Seaconk, leaving a body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him, or meet him about Seaconk the week after. This adventure bro't him into the snare from whence he could not escape : for Capt. George Denison of Stonington, and Capt. Avery of New-London, having raised forty-seven English, the most part volunteers, with ninety Indians, twenty of which were Narragansets, commanded by one Catapazet ; the rest Pepuods, under Casasinamon, and Mohegans under Oneco, son to Uncas, being now upon their third expedition, which they began March 27th, 1676, and ended on the 10th of April following ; met with a stout Indian of the enemy's whom they presently slew, and two old squaws, that confessed that Canonchet was not far off ; which welcome news put new life into the wearied soldiers, especially when it was confirmed by intelligence the same instant, brought in by their scouts, that they met with new tracks, which brought them in view of some wigwams, not far from Pautucket, by some called Blackstone's river, in one of which the said Sachem was at that moment diverting himself with the recital of Capt. Pierce's slaughter, who was surprized by his men a few days before, but the alarm of the English put by that discourse, having but 7 or 8 men about him, he sent up two of them to the top of the hill, to see what the matter was, but they affrighted with the near approach of the enemy, at

this time mounting over a fair champagne on the other side of the hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they saw; presently he sent the third, who did the like; then sending two more on the like necessary occasion, one of these endued with more courage, informed him in great haste that all the English army was upon him; whereupon, having no means to defend himself, he began to dodge with his pursuers, running round the hill on a contrary side, but as he was running so hastily by Catapazat, with 20 of his men, guessed by the swiftness of his motion, that he fled as if an enemy, which made them immediately take the chase after him; he that was the swiftest pursuer put him so hard to it, that he cast off first his blanket, then his silver laced coat (given him at Boston) and belt of peag, which made Catapazat conclude it was the right bird, and pursued him so closely as forced him at last to take to the water: through which as he over hastily plunged; his foot slipping upon a stone, it made him fall into the water so deep, as it wet his gun, upon which accident, he confessed soon after, that his heart and his bowels turned within him, so as he became like a rotten stick, void of strength; insomuch as one Monopide, a Pequod, swiftest of foot, laid hold of him within thirty rod of the river side, without his making any resistances; though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body: one of the first English that

came up with him, was Robert Stanton, a young man that scarce had reached the twenty-second year of his age, yet adventuring to ask a question or two to whom this manly sachem looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replied in broken English you much child, no understand matters of war; let your brother, or your chief come, him I will answer, and was as good as his word; acting herein, as if a Pythagorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost has possessed the body of this western Pagan; and like Attilius Regulus, he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying he knew the Indians would not yield; but more probably he was not willing they should, choosing rather to sacrifice his own, and his peoples lives, to his private humour and revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their safety, by entertaining the counsels of a peace, so necessary for the general good of all: he continuing in the same obstinate resolution, was carried soon after to Stonington, where he was shot to death, by some of his own quality, viz. the young Sachem of the Mohegans, and two of the Pequods of like quality. This was a confusion of a damned wretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the name of the living God, and those that make profession thereof. He was told at large of

his breach of faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a Wampanoog, or the pairing of a Wampanoog's Nail, that he would burn the English alive in their houses ; to which he replied, others were as forward for the war as himself ; and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his sentence, was to die, he said, he liked it well, he should die before his heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to death, that the killing of him would not end the wars ; but it was a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least, not in those parts ; for after Sudbury fight, when the sun of their hopes was at its highest : April the 18th following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared.

The inhabitants of New-London, Norwich, and Stonington, apprehensive of their danger, by reason of the near bordering of the enemy, and upon other prudent considerations, voluntarily listed themselves under some able gentlemen, and resolute soldiers amongst themselves. Maj. Palmer, Capt. George Denison, Capt. Avery, with whom, or under whom, within the compass of the year 1676, they made ten or more several expeditions, in all which, at those several times, they killed and took two hundred thirty nine of the enemy, by the help and assistance of the Pequots, Mohegans, and

a few friendly Narragansets ; besides 20 taken in the long march homeward, after the fort fight. December 19th, 1675 ; and besides sixteen captivated in the second expedition, not reckoned within the compass of the said number ; together with 50 guns, and spoiling the enemy of a hundred bushels of corn.

In January they went again in pursuit, and took 5 men and a boy. Certain Nipnets intended to have sheltered themselves under Uncas ; but he perceiving it would be distasteful unto the English, soon shabbed them off, so as they were in the beginning of the winter taken and brought into Boston, many of them by Peter Ephraim, and Andrew Pityme, with their fellows.

In all which exploits, neither they nor any of their followers sustained any loss by the sword of the enemy, or sickness ; as is expressly declared by the Rev. James Noyce, Minister of Stonington, which is a matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such signal testimonies of divine favour, to be ready to pay their vows to the Most High, who alone teacheth the hands of his people to war, and their fingers to fight.

Not long after Capt. George Denison, of Stonington, with sixty-six volunteers, and a hundred and twelve Pequods, killed and took seventy-six of the enemy, amongst whom were two Narraganset Sachems, one of which was the grand-

child of Pomham (who is accounted the most warlike, and the best soldier of all the Narraganset Sachems) taking at the same time 160 bushels of the enemy's corn, and all this without the loss of one man of the said Captain's followers.

Not long after, May 8th, they burnt about seventeen houses and barns in Bridgewater, a small town in Plymouth colony, twelve miles on this side Taunton ; but it pleased God just at the time to send a thunder-shower, which put out the fire, or else it might have prevailed much further.

And because special notice is taken of the town of Bridgewater, which being in the midst of danger, and being often assaulted by considerable numbers of the enemy, yet never lost any one of their inhabitants, young or old ; a particular account shall here be given of the most remarkable passages of divine providence relating to that plantation since the war began. June 26th, 1675, when Philip's malice against the English, mixed with a particular prejudice against Governor Winslow, began to boil up to the height of an open rebellion ; the people of Swanzy being like to be distressed by the Indians, a post was instantly sent to the Governor of Plymouth, the way lying through Bridgewater ; the said post returned the next day, and about 9 or 10 of the clock, as he passed through the town, left an order from the Governor for the raising of twenty men, well armed, and furnished with horses, to be forthwith

dispatched away for the relief of Swanzy : seventeen were all that could be raised on the sudden, who were sent thither that night, and were the first that were upon their march in all the country ; and possibly they fared not the worse for their forwardness : These seventeen of Bridgewater, were July 21st, ordered by Capt. Bradford to Metapoiset, a place at twelve miles distance from Swanzy, to strengthen the garrison at one Bourn's house, wherein were seventy persons, amongst whom were only found sixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. Brown's son for their pilot, they met with some Swanzy people, newly turned out of their houses (by which they were to pass) who having not as yet resisted unto blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands, and bewailing of their losses, very much also persuading Bridgewater men to turn back, because of the danger, but they having so clear a call, had also more courage than cowardly to desert the cause of God and his people, lest they should thereby betray the lives of so many of their friends into the enemy's hands ; and so by the good hand of God towards them, came safe to Metapoiset that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. Brown, their pilot, back to his quarters ; in their return they came suddenly upon a party of Indians, about thirty in all ; they were

within shot of one another, but the English having no commission to fight till they were assaulted, and not being impeaded in their passage, they returned safe to their garrison at Metapoiset : The Indians presently drawing off, and firing three guns (though not with intent to do them any hurt, as was conceived) gave a shout, and so left them. When this party of the English drew near to their garrison, they met with a company of carts, going to fetch corn from a house deserted near by, about a quarter of a mile off from Mr. Bourn's house, the soldiers gave them notice of the Indians which they discovered, and withal advised them by no means to venture any more, because of the danger ; but they were resolved notwithstanding these earnest persuasions of the soldiers to have another turn, which they soon found to be to the peril of their own lives, 6 of them being presently after killed right out, or mortally wounded, as soon as they came to the barn where was the corn ; these 6 are said to be the first that were slain in that quarrel. The soldiers at the garrison hearing the guns, made what hast they could to the place, but being most of them in that interim gone to look their horses, they could not come time enough to the relief of their friends, yet upon their approach, they who had done the mischief presently fled away : One Jones Hard pursued by two Indians, was by their coming delivered from the extent of the enemy's cruelty, but having received his mortal wound, had only that favour there-

by, to die in the arms of his friends, though by the wounds received from his enemies.

The next week, fifteen of those soldiers looking after their horses, fell into an ambush of twenty of the Indians, but being prepared for the encounter they discharged their guns upon each other: but our men received no hurt, some of them felt the wind of the bullets passing by their faces; what damage the enemy received is uncertain, yet some of the English report they found some of their enemies dead bodies in the place afterward.

Thus were they not only preserved in many perils themselves, but became instrumental also for the preservation of most of that garrison, who with their goods, by their means, with the help of a small party of Plymouth forces, sent thither after the six were killed (as is mentioned before) were soon after transported safely to Rhode-Island.

Many outrages were that summer committed upon their neighbours at Taunton and Namasket, yet it pleased God to protect this poor town of Bridgewater from any other hurt, till the beginning of April, following, when themselves, with their neighbours of Taunton and Roheboth, were strongly solicited to desert their dwelling, and repair down to the towns by the sea side, but God encourage them to keep their stations, notwithstanding the extreme danger then presented. It is reported that Philip gave orders that Taunton and Bridgewater should not be destroyed till the last,

which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy, but these things are only in the hands, of God, and not to be determined by man.

April 9th being Lord's day, a small party of the enemy came down upon the said Bridgewater, burnt an out house and barn, broke up and rifled several other houses in the same quarter of the town, which are notwithstanding yet remaining; they sent out a party of their men to pursue them that night, and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7th, the Lord's day also (no doubt but the betterness of the day, will increase the badness of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a body of Indians dispersed that way, with intent to have fallen upon the town that very day, but were casually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before; however, they were resolved not to miss the opportunity, wherefore on the next day (May 8th) about three hundred of them, one Tisguageon being their chief leader, 8 or 9 in the morning made an assault upon the east end of the town, on the south side of the river: Many of the inhabitants stayed at home that morning, because of the intelligence the day before, and so were the more ready to entertain them; some that not taking that warning, ventured into the field about their occasions, were in danger of surprizal, but by the special favor of God escaped, and came time enough to help defend their own and their neighbours dwell-

ling's being shot at and hard pursued a considerable way.

The Indians presently began to fire the town, but it pleased God so to spirit and encourage several of the inhabitants, issuing out of their garrison houses that they fell upon them with great resolution, and beat them off; at the same instant of time, the Lord of Hosts also fighting for them from Heaven, by sending a storm of thunder and rain very seasonably, which prevented the burning of the houses which were fired: The soldiers also fighting under the banner of God's special protection, were so successful in repelling the enemy, that they neither had any of the inhabitants killed or taken, and but one wounded. The Indians by this stout resistance, being beaten off to the skirts, of the town, made a fresh onset upon another quarter thereof, on the north side of the river, where they had done much more mischief, but that God stired up sundry of the people to venture out of their fortified houses, who fired upon the enemy, and beat them from their dwellings, so as in the evening they drew off to an out house, three miles distant from the town: The next day the inhabitants expected another assault, but the enemy having burnt the house and barn where they kept their rendezvous over night, and one house more not far distant, they marched all clear away for that time.

In this assault they lost 13 dwelling houses, whereof five only were in the town (the rest being out-

houses, and deserted for the present,) with some few barns, and some of their cattle: all which was a very inconsiderable loss in comparison of what befel others, and themselves might have endured, if God had not by his special favour prevented.

July 14th and 15th, another party of Indians came down upon the north-west side of the town, but with no better success; for they had no commission from the Lord of Hosts to touch any of the persons of the inhabitants, their power reaching only to the slaying of their cattle at this time.

July 18, 19, and 20, they sent out parties after the enemy to pursue them by their track, who fell upon some of them. On the 20th they took 16, whereof two were men: On this day they had to assist them, it seems, some of the Bay Indians sent them from Capt. Brattle; some of the captives informed that there were but 70 or 80 in the company, and but 10 or twelve men amongst them: But within a few days these Bridgewater men shall find better success in pursuit of their enemies, when Philip himself and men shall hardly escape their hands, as shall be seen afterwards.

While one party of the enemy thus acted their part in and about Plymouth colony, towards the sea-coast, other parties of them were not idle in the Massachusetts colony, where they assaulted many places, doing what mischief they could by firing of houses, and killing several persons in the inland plantations.

March 2d, they assaulted Groton; the next day over night Major Willard with seventy horse came into the town; forty foot also came up to their relief from Watertown, but the Indians were all fled, having first burnt all the houses in the town, save four that were garrisoned, the meeting-house being the second house they fired; soon after Capt. Still was sent with a small party of dragoons, of eight files, to fetch off the inhabitants of Groton, and what was left from the spoil of the enemy, having under his conduct about sixty carts, being in depth from front to rear above two miles, when a party of Indians lying in ambush, at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the front and wounded two of the first carriers, who both died the next night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent damage to the whole body, it being a full hour before the whole body could be drawn up, which was done with care and courage; but the Indians after a few more shot made, without doing harm, retired, and made no further assault upon them, being the same party of Indians which the day before had burnt a part of Chelmsford. Soon after this village was deserted by the enemy; yet it was a special providence, that though the carts were guarded with so slender a convoy, yet there was not any considerable loss sustained.

The surprizal of Groton was after this manner: On March 2d, the Indians came in the night and

rifled eight or nine houses, and carried away some cattle, and alarmed the town.

On March 9th, about ten in the morning, a parcel of Indians (having two days lurked in the town, and taken possession of three out-houses, and feasted themselves with corn, divers swine and poultry, which they there seized) laid an ambush for two carts, which went from their garrison to fetch in some hay, attended with four men, two of which espying the enemy, made a difficult escape, the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, stript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the high way, and laid on his back in a most shameful manner: The other taken captive, and after sentenced to death: but the enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the night before he was designed to have been slaughtered, and fled to the garrison at Lancaster, the cattle in both towns wounded, and five of them slain.

March 13th was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by their own account 400, and thou't by the inhabitants to be not many less. The town was at this time (having been put into a fright by the sad catastrophe of Lancaster, the next bordering town) gathered into five garrisons, four of which were so near together as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattle belonging to those families, driven into pastures,

which afterwards proved their preservation: the other was near a mile distant from the rest.

This morning the indians (having in the night placed themselves in several parts of the town) made their onsets; which began near the four garrisons; for a body of them having placed themselves in ambuscado, behind a hill, near one of the garrisons made discovery. At this time divers of the people, not suspecting any such matter (for the day before, many had been upon a discovery many miles, and found no signs of an enemy being so near) were attending their occasions, some foddering their cattle, some milking their cows, whom the enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented; they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared: These two Indians were at length espied, and the alarm given; whereupon the most of the men in the next garrison, and some also in the second, which was about eight or nine poles distant, drew out and went to surprize those two Indians, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the hill, then arose the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat, or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded: Mean while another ambush had risen, and come upon the back side of the garrison so deserted of men, and pulled down the palizadoes; the soldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by to the next garrison, the women and children

mean time exposed to hazard, but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified house, without any harm, leaving their substance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and house-hold stuff, in which five families were impoverished, and firing upon the other garrison: Here also they took some cattle. No sooner was the signal given by the first volley of shot, but immediately in several parts of the town at once, did the smoke arise, they firing the houses.

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprized the single garrison, but God prevented. An old Indian, passed along the street with a black sheep on his back, with a slow pace, as one decrepid; they made several shot at him, but missed him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive, but the watchmen, seasonably espying an ambush behind the house, gave the signal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the enemy lodged in the town, some of them in the garrison they had surprized, but the body of them in an adjacent valley, where they made themselves merry after their savage manner. The next morning they gave two or three vollies at capt. Parker's garrison, and so marched off, fearing as was thought, that supply might be nigh at hand. This assault of theirs was managed with their wonted subtlety and barba-

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rous cruelty ; for they stripped the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole, looking towards his land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug out of his grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and stript off his winding sheet. An infant which they found dead, in the house first surprized, they cut in pieces which afterwards they cast to the swine. There were about 40 dwelling houses burnt at that time, besides other buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the town, and scattering of the inhabitants, and removal of the candlestick after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprising of Groton, March 13, there was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolency of John Monoco, or one-eyed John, the chief Captain of the Indians in that design ; who having by a sudden surprisal, early in the morning, seized upon a garrison house in one end of the town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day ; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call out to Capt. Parker, that was lodged in another garrison house, and entertained a great deal of discourse with him, whom he called his old neighbour ; dilating upon the cause of the war, and putting an end to it by

a friendly peace ; yet oft mixing bitter sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts, at their praying and worshiping God in the meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burnt. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night, he said he burnt Medfield and Lancaster, and that he now would burn the town of Groton, and then would next burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Boston, adding at last in their dialect, what me will, me do : in this however he was deceived, as he and a few more braggadocios like himself, Sagamore Sam, old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quoboag, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the gallows through Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at his pleasure with a halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the town's end, September 26th, in this present year, 1676.

After this, April 17th, Capt. Sill being appointed to keep garrison at Groton, three Indians drew near the garrison house, supposing it to have been deserted, were two of them slain by one single shot, made by the captain's own hands, and the third, by another shot made from the garrison.

The danger which these inland towns were like to be exposed unto from the enemy, after they were driven out of the Narraganset country, was foreseen by the Council of the Massachusetts, yea

they had some intimation thereof from the enemy themselves ; but they were not well able to prevent it in that unseasonable time of the year ; no way fit for marching soldiers, and transporting of provisions, the winter then beginning to break up in this country, for while our forces were up in the Narraganset country in the winter, a couple of christian Indians were sent as spies into the Nipnet and Narraganset country, through the woods in the depth of winter, when the ways were impassible for any other sort of people : These two, James and Job, ordered their business so prudently, as that they were admitted into those Indian habitations as friends, and had free liberty of discourse with them ; they were at first a little jealous of them, but by the means of one-eyed John, a great captain of the Indians, that afterwards led them to that spoiled Groton, who having been a companion of one of the spies, both in hunting, and in fighting against the Mohawks formerly ; so esteemed of him, that he would not suffer any of the rest to touch him, they passed through all the Indian towns lying thirty miles distant from Quobaog, and twenty miles northward of the road to Connecticut. One of the said spies returned about January 24th, informing those that sent him, what he had observed, both the number of the Indians (about three hundred in all) also their several towns, and what provision they had ; a plenty of ven-

ison, much Pork from the Englishmens hogs which they had taken ; they confessed likewise that he and some of his party had killed the people at Nashaway, the last year, suspected to have been done by the Indians of Marlborough : He told them also they intended to burn Lancaster within three weeks after that time, which accordingly they did, much about the same time ; adding moreover, that some Frenchmen were with them at Pocomptuck, encouraging of them to go on with their designs, promising them assistance, which made some ready to think the Indians were stirred up by the French to do all this mischief, but more of this afterwards. What might be gathered from the foresaid premises is easy to conceive ; whereupon new forces with as much speed as the season would allow, were raised and sent up into those parts, under the command of Major Savage in chief : They were dispatched away the beginning of March, and appointed to meet with such as should be sent from Connecticut colony, which they did about Quabaog and so intended to march directly up to those Indian towns about Watchuset-Hill, to the northwest ; but the Indians were gone, and our forces in the pursuit of them taking the wrong path missed of them, yet ranging through those woods, they were at one time suddenly assaulted by a small party of Indians firing upon them, wounding Mr. Gershom Bulkly, by a shot in his thigh, and killing one of their soldiers ;

after which as they marched along, they accidentally fell upon another small party of the enemy, of whom they slew some, and took others, to the number of sixteen yet could not meet with the main body of the enemy who it seems had passed over a great river by rafts, so our men could follow them no further, wherefore turned down toward Hadley and Northampton, whither it was supposed the Indians intended to pass, they came very seasonably to the relief of the said towns, which else had been in danger of being lost. For,

March 14th, the enemy fell upon Northampton, and in three places broke through the fortification of palizadoes, set up round about the town a little before for their better security ; but the town being then full of soldiers, they were quickly repulsed, after they had killed four men and two women, and fired four or five dwelling houses, and as many barns, with the loss of many of their lives as was supposed.

While our forces under Major Savage continued on that side of the country, a sad accident fell out at Springfield, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate to prevent mistakes ; the matter having through a great oversight been otherwise represented than indeed it was, not only to the prejudice of truth, but to the disadvantage of some persons concerned therein. While the sol-

diers were quartered amongst the several towns upon Connecticut river, a party of the troop were quartered at a place belonging to Springfield, called the Long-Meadow, three miles from the town below, toward Windsor; several of the inhabitants having most of the winter kept from the public meeting on the Lord's days for fear of the enemy, were encouraged to adventure to the assembly, on the 26th of March, riding in the company of the troopers; but having heard of no Indians thereabouts a good while, were more secure than they had cause; for riding some of them with women behind them, and some with their children in their arms, yet not so careful as to keep in the middle but rather in the rear, and at some distance straggling from the rest of the company, a party of Indians lying in the bushes, as they rode along, fired upon the hindmost, and killed two, and wounded others: Those in the front having also women and maids behind some of them, were at a stand to know what to do, fearing they might expose those women they had in their company, if they should ride back (in that winding road making through a woody place for near a mile or two together, to look after them that were behind; at the last, one that came riding up, told the foremost company there was no hurt, and that they were all coming: They that were before, rode away with all speed to the end of the town, where setting down the women,

the troopers returned back, but too late to recover two poor women, and two children, who upon the first assault were thrown off their horses, and immediately hauled into the bushes, and through a swamp on the other side of a steep bank, so as they could not be heard of all that afternoon nor the next day till toward night, although they were diligently searched after by all the troopers in and about the town; at last when they were discried just by a swamp side, the cruel wretches endeavoured to have killed them all, but in haste only wounded them with their hatchets, yet so as one of the poor creatures recovered; the other with the children, died of their wounds before they were brought home, or within little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power; but by the farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.

There happened no other matter of moment worthy the reporting while our forces tarried in these parts, and the commanders observing that the enemy was turned back again through the woods towards the Massachusetts-Bay, after a month's time retired back, yet could never meet with the enemy in their return through the woods, although while they were at the towns aforesaid, they understood of several attempts made upon

Sudbury and Malborough, the most part of which last they destroyed March 26th, which made the inhabitants forsake their dwellings, leaving only a few houses garrisoned with soldiers, the better to secure a passage to the towns westward upon Connecticut river.

The inhabitants of Sudbury, with the soldiers under Lieut. Jacobs, of Malborough sufficiently alarmed by the late mischief done about those towns, resolved to try what work they could make with the enemy in the night; whereupon going forth March 27th, toward morning, they discerned where the enemy lay by their fires, (near three hundred of them) and that within half a mile of the garrison-house, near the place they had done so much mischief the day before. Such was the courage and resolution of the English, though but forty in number, townsmen and soldiers, that they adventured to discharge upon them as they lay by their fires, when it was so dark that an Indian could hardly be discerned from a better man; yet God so directing, they discharged several times upon them, wounded thirty, fourteen of them either died of their wounds the same day, or soon after, which had been chief agents in this present mischief against the English. Such was the success of this skirmish that the assailants came off without the loss of one man.

Notwithstanding the little success of former attempts, Philip and his men have one prize to play in the Massachusetts colony, before they go off the stage, and then we shall soon see their power, visibly declining every where, until their final overthrow come upon them. There were several small parties of them scattered up and down all over the country, yet the main body of them was lurking up and down in those woods that lie between Brookfield, Marlborough, and Connecticut river. Possibly they had some hopes of driving all the country before them to the towns upon the sea-coast; for having burnt the deserted houses at Marlborough April 17th, the next day they set upon Sudbury with all their might to do there as they had done at the towns next beyond it. They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several houses and barns, and kill several persons, 10 or 12 of the English, that came from Concord to assist their neighbours at Sudbury, a town distant five miles from them, at the first hearing the alarm, who unawares were surprized near a garrison, in hopes of getting some advantage upon a small party of the enemy that presented themselves in a meadow; a great number of Indians that lay unseen in the bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the passage to the garrison house, killed and took them all.

But our sorrows and losses that day are not yet come to their height; for in the after part of the

same day, that resolute stout-hearted soldier, Capt. Wadsworth being sent from Boston with fifty soldiers to relieve Marlborough, having marched twenty five miles, and then understanding the enemy was gone through the woods toward Sudbury : This unwearied company, before ever they had taken any considerable rest, marched immediately back towards Sudbury (that lies ten miles nearer Boston) and being come within a mile of the town, they espied a party of Indians not far from them, about a hundred, not more, as they conceived, these they might easily deal with ; who retiring back a while, drew Capt. Wadsworth and his company above a mile into the woods, when on a sudden a great body of the enemy appeared, about five hundred as was thought, who compassing them around, forced them to the top of a hill where they made very stout resistance, a considerable while ; but the night drawing on, and some of the company begining to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, so as the enemy taking the chase, pursued them on every side, as they made too hasty a retreat, by which accident, being so much overpowered by the enemy's numbers, they were most of them lost : The Captain himself, with one Capt. Brocklebank (a choice spirited man much, lamented by the town of Rowley, to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his company as he marched along, scarce

twenty escaping in all; so as another Captain, and his fifty men perished at that time, as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service.

Thus as in former attempts of like nature too much courage and eagerness in pursuit of the enemy, has added another fatal blow to this poor country.

The same day another party of the English coming from Brookfield, whither they were sent as convoy with provision for the garrison, were in danger likewise of falling in the hands of the same Indians, yet riding upon a good speed, and keeping their guns always ready presented against them they met, they never durst fire at them; only three or four having unadvisedly first discharged their guns against the enemy, and falling too much in rear of their company, were cut off and lost. It is reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that night: Yet whatever their success was this day, it was observed by some (at that time their prisoners, and since released) that they seemed very pensive after they came to their quarters, shewing no such signs of rejoicing as they usually were wont to do in like cases; whether for the loss of some of their own company in that day's enterprize (said to be a hundred and twenty) or whether it were the Devil in whom they made their address the day before, by sundry conjunctions of

their powawes? Or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty sent upon their spirits, upon their execrable blasphemies which it is said they used in the torturing of some of their poor captives (bidding Jesus come and deliver them out of their hands from death, if he could) we leave as uncertain though some have so reported, yet sure it is that after this day, they never prospered in any attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken, till they were in a manner all consumed, appearing to be exceedingly downhearted as before mentioned.

After this time, however they had braved it before they seemed to apprehend that it was scarce feasible for them to withstand the power of the English, and therefore seemed more inclinable to a peace, by several overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during these encounters they were willing to admit of some kind of treaty with the English, about the releasing of sundry of their captives, which they took at Lancaster in February last, and elsewhere: To this end sundry attempts were made by help of several praying Indians (as they were called) about the redemption of some of the women and children, which were at that time in their possession, and by degrees something was effected that way; possibly their own present sufferings and wants that were upon them, might induce them thereunto: For by this time the spring of the year came on, their

provision was all spent, and they forced to live wholly upon ground nuts, and upon the flesh of the English creatures, both horse and neat cattle, which they daily plundered. The ground nuts running up to seed in the summer, begin to grow so sticky, as they were scarce eatable; the flesh also of the English cattle proving unwholesome for their bodies, filling them with sundry diseases: One of them having eaten much horse-flesh, complained that he had before eaten horse, and now horse began to eat him, meaning some deadly disease growing upon his eating such rank flesh, unwholesome for their bodies, especially without salt, as their usual manner is. The fishing season also began now to come in, wherein they use to take abundance of all sorts, with which those great rivers up the country are abundantly stored: they used to take thereof, and drying it in the smoke, make provision thereof for the greater part of the year; and if the war continued, they could but see they should utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting season also were lost, they should be in great want of summer fruits, viz. beans & squashes besides their corn, with which they were wont to live all the latter part of the summer. Upon all considerations they seemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a general peace, though some were apt to think they would never have kept it, further than would stand with their own good and advantage, and that their present desire thereof was only to gain time,

A Person formerly acquainted with the Indians about Lancaster, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the minister's wife, taken captive in February last, from Lancaster, and through the favor of him who having the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum, which gave encouragement to the council to send two messengers on the like errand the same week, to procure the redemption of others not without success : The former, viz. Mrs. Rowlandson being brought to Boston upon the election day, May 3d, it was generally looked at as a smile of providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer, and answer of faith, with which her husband had been upheld, and supported from the day of her captivity ; his two children also were returned back not long after.

About this time another sort of Indians belonging to Wamesit, a place near Chelmsford, bordering upon Merrimack (who had been provoked by the rash, unadvised, cruel act of some of the English, about Oct. 27th, and Nov. 4th, had fired upon them several guns, both at Chelmsford and Woburn, to the killing of some, and wounding of others, upon suspicion that the said Indians were guilty of burning a barn, and hay-stack not far off) suddenly turned our enemies, after the winter was o-

ver ; having first withdrawn themselves from the place assigned them, and where they had been relieved all the winter (some of them after a former revolt) and took their opportunity to fire Mr. Falconer's house in Andover town, early that Spring, and wounded one Roger Marks, and killed his horse. Two more houses about Shawskin, beyond the said Andover, were burnt about March 10th : Also they killed a young man of the said town, April 8th, the son of George Abbot ; and another son of his also was carried away the same day, who notwithstanding was returned some few months after, almost pined to death with hunger.

March 10th, at Concord two men going for hay, one of them was killed. At Chelmsford, the said Wamesit Indians, about March 18th before, fell upon some houses on the north side of the river ; burnt down three or four that belonged to the family of Edward Colburn : The said Colburn, with Samuel Varnham, his neighbour being pursued, as they passed over the river to look for their cattle on that side of the river ; and making several shots against them, who returned the like again upon the said Indians, judged to be about forty, what success they had upon the enemy, was best known to themselves ; but two of Varnham's sons were slain by the enemy's shot before they could recover the other side of the river. April 15th also were fourteen or fifteen houses burnt there.

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Not long before this, Feb. 1st. 1676, Thomas Eames that kept a farm at Sudbury, whose dwelling was three or four miles out of town, had his house assaulted and fired, his wife killed, and his children carried captive along with the Indians.

Also two men were killed at a farm about Concord, Isaac and Jacob Shepherd by name, about the middle of February, and a young maid that was set to watch upon a hill, of about fifteen years of age, was carried captive, who strangely escaped away upon a horse that the Indians had taken from Lancaster a little before. In the like strange manner did one of Eames's children escape away about May 3d last, travelling 30 miles alone in the woods, without any relief till he came to an English town. Eames's house was assaulted when he was from home, by an Indian called Netus, not long after slain at Marlborough, which had been very familiar with the English, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himself. They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the farm, corn, hay and cattle, besides the dwelling house with what was therein; it is probable those at Concord were killed by the same hands about a fortnight after.

On May 3d a party of them killed a man at Haverhill, upon the edge of Merrimack-River, and passing over the said river to Bradford, spoiled another family, killing one Thomas Kimball, and carrying his wife and five children captive, forty

miles up in the woods. For the suppressing of these insolencies several companies of fresh soldiers both horse and foot were raised in the Massachusetts by the Governor and council of that colony, and sent out to suppress the common enemy; the foot under the command of the Captains Sill, Cutler and Holbrook; the horse under the command of the Captains Brattle, Prentice and Henshaw, the last of which was commander in chief. These several companies modelled as aforesaid, were sent out April 27th, 1676, to range the woods towards Hassanamosit.

The 6th of May they met with a considerable party of the enemy; they were first discovered by the Natick scouts pursuing a bear, and at first not discerning that Natick Indian scouts belonged to our men, which gave some advantage to our forces; our horsemen falling upon them before they were aware, killed and took of the enemy about 16. Soon after this the soldiers being visited with sickly distempers by reason of an epidemical cold at that time prevailing thro' the country, they were for the present released, with an intent to be called together again at a more convenient time.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the enemy that were discovered about Rehoboth, busy in fishing in a river thereabouts, capt. Brattle was sent up about the 22d of May, who with the help of some of the inhabitants, killed 11 or 12 of them, without the loss of but one of

our men. Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite shore, it was conceived a greater spoil might have been made amongst them.

But in the next place we must take notice of the proceedings of the enemy about Connecticut. The greatest body of them made towards Plymouth colony early in the spring, as was said before, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remaining part of them did westward.

Some scattering parties were skulking about Springfield and those lower towns, upon a small number of whom Capt. Holyoke (newly chosen Capt of Springfield in the room of his father, lately deceased), handselled his office early in the spring; for having previous notice of some of them in those woods, he marched after them with 10 or 12 resolute young men, and waiting his opportunity surprised them near the great river, so as two or three of them were left dead upon the place, one mortally wounded got on an Island in the river, where it was concluded he took his last night's lodging.—The other being sorely wounded was taken alive and brought home to Springfield, where he confessed many things to one of the inhabitants that understood their language, owning the truth in many things against his own company, and soon after died of his wounds.

This was but a preparative to a higher piece of service which Capt. Holyoke was soon after engaged in, and wherein he acquitted himself beyond

expectation, and taking, more pains than ordinary in making his retreat, he got a surfeit, which ended his days the September following, near Boston.

About the begining of April likewise, some of the inhabitants about Hadley, attending their tillage at Hockanum, within three miles of the town, and having a guard of soldiers with them, yet three of the company were casually slain by a party of the enemy that lay in wait for such an opportunity. One of them was Mr. Goodman, a deacon of the church, that went a little beyond the command of the soldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land, and two others, that contrary to express orders would venture upon the top of a high hill near by, to take a needless and unseasonable view of the country, were shot down by the enemy by that they could recover their corps-du-guard.

But the great company of the enemy that staid on that side of the country, and about Watchusethill, when the rest went towards Plymouth, though they had been disappointed in their planting by the death of Canonchet, were loth to lose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore having seated themselves near the falls of Connecticut river, not far from Deerfield, and perceiving that the English force were now drawn off from the lower towns of Hadley and Northampton, now and then took advatages to plunder them of their cattle, and not fearing any assault from

our soldiers, grew a little secure, while they upon their fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive by the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their cattle, besides other preceeding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison soldiers, and partly of the inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies, expected from Hartford, might have proved a fatal business to all the said Indians ; yet was the victory obtained more considerable than at first was apprehended ; for not having much above a hundred and fifty fighting men in their company, they marched above twenty miles silently in dead of the night, May 28th, and came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a dead sleep, without any scout abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home ; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them for them that night.

When they came near the Indians rendezvous, they alighted off their horses, and tied them to some

young trees at a quarter of a mile distance, so marching up they fired briskly into their wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightened others with the sudden alarm of their guns, and made them run into the river, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into canoes, (mall boats made of the barks of birchen trees) which proved to them a Charon's boat, being sunk, or overset by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world; Others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. Holyoke killing five, young and old, with his own hands, from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light soon notified them of their error, though it could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number slain; some say there could not in reason be less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above 300 in that camisado, some were their principle men Sachems, and some of their best fighting men

they left, which made the victory more considerable than else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but ruin immediately followed upon it.— Yet such was the awful hand of Providence in the close of this victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet, that it might well be called a costly victory to the conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in itself.

The Indians that lay scattering on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered for want of the help of the eldest Captain that was so unfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any was defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making their retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the rear, so as our men sustained very much damage as they retired, missing after their return thirty-eight of their men; and if Capt. Holyoke had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the flank and rear, at all times encouraging the soldiers, it had proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. Holyoke's horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but

discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, whom he presently dispatched, and, a friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the soldiers without any further loss. It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this engagement, that one told above a hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near a hundred and forty swimming down the falls, none of which were observed to get alive to the shore, save one. The loss that befel our men in the retreat was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. Turner, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. Turner's order. It is also said by one present at that fight, that seven or eight in the rear of the English, through haste, missed their way, (it being a cloudy dark morning, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured. About seven days after this bloody battle they had a mind to try the chance of war again, and see if they could not recover their loss by returning the like upon the English: For,

May 30th, a great number of them (supposed to be six or seven hundred) appeared before Hatfield, fired about twelve houses and barns without the fortification of the town; a number of houses in the centre of the town were surrounded with palisades: these were attacked in the day time, when

the men were all out in the fields, except one aged man ; they drove away multitudes of their cattle and sheep, spreading themselves in the meadow near the town ; which bravado so raised the courage of their neighbours at Hadley, that twenty-five resolute young men ventured over the river to relieve Hatfield in this distress, who charged the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution that they beat down five or six at the first shot they made ; so making way through the thickest of their enemies, that lay ready to take aim at them behind every tree as they passed by ; yet they escaped all their shot till they came within a little of the town they came to relieve, where they lost five of their number.

The enemy being amazed at the resolution of our men, being but so small a handfull, that they fled immediately from the town ; having lost twenty-five of their men in the enterprize. The council of the Massachusetts gathering by these proceedings of the Indians, that their desire of peace was only to gain time, ordered that the forces raised before April 27th, and for a time released, should be hastened out again to range the woods towards Hadley, and those parts, made an agreement with Hartford colony to send forces from thence to meet them about Brookfield, and so to scour along on both sides of Connecticut, to disrest the enemy what they could, and keep them from

fishing in those waters, their hope of planting being now almost over. To this end, about May 30th, 1676, the forces under Capt. HENCHMAN were called together again, and sent to Brookfield, to meet with those expected from Hartford colony; in the way, our's by the direction of Tom Doublet (a Natick Indian, who was a little before employed in the redemption of captives) following tracks of Indians came upon a party of the enemy fishing in Weshacom ponds, towards Lancaster, of whom they killed seven, and took twenty-nine, mostly women and children; yet belonging to considerable persons, it made the success the more to be valued. Our force being by this means retarded, could not meet with those of Connecticut at Brookfield, but followed them the week after; having first returned from Weshacom to Marlborough, to supply themselves with ammunition, and so marched directly towards Hadley, where they met with Connecticut forces; and from thence according to mutual agreement our's marched on the east side of the river, and Connecticut forces on the west, up towards Squakheag (now Northfield) coming to Deerfield, and the great falls thereabouts, they sent up their scouts, but not hearing of the enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good capacity to have gone further if there had been occasion, by reason of a tedious storm of rain, which occasioned much damage in their ammuni-

tion and provision. While our forces lay about Deerfield, some of our soldiers ranging, lighted upon the body of capt. Turner, about Green's river, in passing of which stream he was supposed to have received his mortal wounds.

While our forces continued thereabouts, they did the enemy some little spoil, in seizing much of their fish, and goods stolen from the English, and hid in the barns under ground; conjecturing also that they found four or five places where some of the English had been tortured to death by cruel burning, after they had been fastened between stakes set in the ground; but not meeting with any of the enemy, they all turned home, conceiving that having been forced from their quarters in those parts, they were drawn down lower towards the English plantations eastward, viz. Plymouth and the Massachusetts. What success capt. Henchman's forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they observed of the motion of the Indians may be seen in the following letter of his date June 30th: "Our scouts brought intelligence that all the Indians were in a continual motion. The twenty-seventh scouts brought in two squaws, a boy, and a girl, giving account of five slain. Yesterday they brought in an old fellow brother to a Sachem, six squaws and children having killed five men. These and the other inform that Philip and the Narragansets were gone

several days before to their own places, Philip's purpose being to do what mischief he could with the English."

It plainly appears by the contents of the said letter, as well as by many other testimonies, that about this time the Indians, our enemies, who hitherto had been linked together as brethren in iniquity and cruelty, were now strangely divided and separated the one from the other; some impute it to an assault made upon them by the Mohawks, who falling upon Philip with the inland Indians, slew about 50 of them; whereupon those of Philip's company resolved to return to their own country, and do what mischief they could to the English therabouts. This was reported by an Indian brought to Seaconk, June 29, 1676, taken at Providence. Others were ready to think that it was upon some quarrel amongst themselves, occasioned by an evil spirit sent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being scattered, the more easily be taken and ruined by the English, now that the time of vengeance was come, when they shall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties; for now is the snare hastening upon them wherein they shall be hampered in their own devices, so to be taken and destroyed. It cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable providence, that capt. HENCHMAN in his late expedition to Hadley, killed and took about 84 of the enemy, with-

out the loss of any of his own men ; the like favorable success happened to Major Talcot in his passage from Norwich to Quabaog, as was said before, and soon after his return.

But by that time our forces were returned home as far as Sudbury ; they were ordered upon the solicitation of the Governor of Plymouth, two companies of them at least, to march away immediately to Dedham, and so to Seaconk or Rehoboth, to join Major Bradford in the pursuit of that perfidious monster Philip, who was it seems with many hundreds of his barbarous followers fallen upon the English plantations thereabouts, and whither also a little before, Capt. Brattle with a troop of horse, and Capt. Mosely with a company of foot, were sent up from Boston to pursue after them, now flocking in great numbers in those woods. There was at this time no small hopes of surprizing Philip ; several reports being brought that he was seen in this and that place, not having above 20 or 30 men attending on him ; but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accomplished all that mischief he was like to be suffered to do. For on the 1st of July, 1676, a party of his Indians committed a horrid and barbarous murder upon Mr. Hezekiah Willet, of Swanzey, a hopeful young gentleman as any in those parts. They used frequently to keep a sentinel on the top of their house from a watch-house built thereon, whence they

could discover any Indians before they came near the house, but not hearing of the enemy in those parts for a considerable time, that necessary piece of circumspection was omitted that day, whereby that deserving person was betrayed into their cruel hands ; for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own door, within sight of his house, he was shot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound ; they after their barbarous manner cut off his head, and carried it away with them (which however was soon after recovered) leaving the trunk of his body behind, as a sad monument of their inhuman cruelty. The same Indians, not being above 30 in number, took away a negro belonging to the same family, who being faithful to his master's and the country's interest, ventured his life to make his escape, which was the preservation of many others ; for the said negro being a little acquainted with their language, discovered to the English after his escape, Philip's purpose to seize such and such places : In the first place to assault Taunton, which in all probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots had not so wonderfully been made known beforehand. The said negro affirmed, that there was near a thousand of them ; for he observed that altho' they had killed 20 head of neat cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the next day at eight o'clock in the morning.

Our friends and brethren of Connecticut colony, although they had never actually felt half of those miseries that befel the people of the other two, yet never denied their assistance to the suppressing of the common enemy, yea sometimes they did afford it, before it was expressly desired, according to the tenor of the articles of confederation and rules of common prudence ; considering that if the fire of this war was not timely extinguished it would endanger their own fabrick ; therefore according to agreement, the council of that colony ordered their successful commander Major Talcot, to meet our forces at Quabaog, or Brookfield, in order to the pursuing of the enemy in those parts. In the way as they were marching from Norwich thither, divine providence so far smiled upon their enterprize, as to give them an opportunity to surprize 51 of the enemy, of whom 10 were slain, without the loss of any one of their own company, which could not but much enhance the price of the victory to the conquerors.

The like success had their friends which they left behind (the volunteers gathered out of the three towns by the sea-side, New-London Stonington and Norwich) and who were some of them released by Major Talcot, when he first began his march, that they might the better in the absence of the army guard their own towns ; for before the return of the forces under Maj. Talcot to that side.

of the country, they had made two expeditions against their enemies, the Narragansets, that were skulking up and down on that side of the country, in one of which they killed and took 30, the most of which being men, are said to have been slain by them. In the other 45, the most of which probably were women and children, but being all young serpents of the same brood, the subduing or taking so many, ought to be acknowledged as another signal victory and pledge of divine favor to the English. But to return, it was not without the special direction of Providence those Hartford forces were sent to those western towns a week before those of the Massachusetts could get thither; for otherwise one or more of those towns might have been lost; seeing that on the 12th of June, soon after if not the next day after they arrived there, the enemy, as if resolved to try the utmost of their power, violently assaulted the town of Hadley, with a body of about 700 men, at five or six o'clock in the morning, laying an ambush at one end of the town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other; but the Connecticut forces being at that time quartered in the towns thereabouts were ready at hand, besides those that had been quartered there ever since March, who had been left by Major Savage when he left those parts, under the command and charge of capt. Turner, slain at the great falls as is noted before, but since

commanded by capt. Swain. These by their joint and ready assistance, wherein the fence of the palisadoes surrounding the town was no little advantage, gave the Indians such a smart repulse, that they found it too hot for them to abide: for the soldiers or townsmen within, firing a piece of ordnance, so affrighted the barbarous savages, or a party of them against whom it was discharged, that although they had just before surprized and possessed a house at the north part of the town, yet they instantly fled, leaving some of their dead upon the place; nor did they any considerable mischief with all their numbers, save firing a barn about that end of the town, and killing two or three of the soldiers, or two daring inhabitants, who would against express order, venture to go without the fortification.

It was accounted by some that were present near the time of that assault, a great oversight that having so fair an opportunity to chase the enemy upon so considerable advantage, it was let slip, and not improved, for Connecticut soldiers being all or most of them furnished with horses, they might have been soon overtaken, and many of them destroyed but God hid it from their eyes. The commander in chief, it is said, quartered at one end of the town, Hatfield was then within the limits of Hadley, on the west side of the river, and did not apprehend the advantage till the season

was over ; nor was any such thing as an assault expected so early in the morning ; it being a general observation heretofore, that they seldom or ever used to make any attempts in the night ; part of which could not but be improved in way of preparation for such a design. But the Lord of Hosts who is wise in council, and wonderful in working, will find some other way to destroy our enemies, wherein the hand of his providence should more remarkably be seen, that so no flesh should glory in its own wisdom or strength, but that salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The rest of this month was spent without any other matter of moment happening therein.

The Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, taking into serious consideration the many merciful occurrences that had been returned upon us, notwithstanding the mixing of many dispensations of a contrary nature, thought themselves bound to make some public acknowledgement thereof, to him whose name alone is worthy to be praised. The 29th of June was set apart as a day of public thanksgiving to God, who had remembered his people thus in their low estate. And that matter of thanksgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were most of our English captives brought back from the Indians, and many more soon after, to the number of sixteen, whose mouths might then well be filled with

laughter, and their tongues with singing, both of themselves, and all that were any way concerned in their wellfare.

And as this day appointed for solemn and public thanksgiving, was ushered in by several special mercies, for also was it followed with many remarkable benefits. For besides the preserving the town of Northampton, March the 14th, and Hadley, June the 12th, by the timely sending of our forces the very night before they were assaulted; the saving of the people of Marlborough from being cut off, was very observable, when Mr. Graves by occasionally going from the sermon with the extremity of the tooth-ach, March 26th, discovered the Indians ready to assault the town, and the people might have been cut off, had not that accident happened. It is certain that after the end of this month, the power of the enemy began every where to fail; for the body the enemy that had lurked about Connecticut river all this Spring, being visited by sundry diseases, disappointed of their fishing, and put by their planting, began to be at variance amongst themselves; the Hadley and Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) Indians quarreling with Philip for bringing all this mischief about, occasioning the English and them to fall out, with whom they had always good correspondence, and lived lovingly together, but now they were like to be ruined by the war. This quarrel proceeded to that height, that

from that time forward, those several Indians that had for so long time been combined together, resolved now to part, and every one to shift for themselves, and return to their own homes ; Philip to Mount-Hope, and the Narragansets to their own country again ; the Nipnets and the river Indians bending their course westward, others northward, towards Pennicook, upon Merrimack, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could for the future ; all which is like to be the real and true state of the case with the Indians which were our enemies ; for the next news we heard of Philip, was that he had returned back to Mount-Hope, now like to become Mount-Misery unto him and his vagabond crew, and that his friends and allies that had hitherto stood as neuters, waiting only which way the scale of success and victory would turn, began now to sue for mercy at the hands of the English : The Massachusetts government having understood something of this nature, put forth a declaration, that whatsoever Indians should within fourteen days next ensuing, come in to the English, might hope for mercy. Amongst sundry that came in, there was one named James, the printer, the superadded title distinguishing him from others of that name ; who being a notorious apostate, that had learned so much of the English as not only to read and write, but had attained likewise some skill in printing, and might have attain-

ed more (had he not like a false villain ran away from his master before his time was out) he having seen and read the said declaration of the English, did venture himself upon the faith thereof, and came to sue for his life ; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more Indians had died since this war began, of diseases (such as at other times they used not to be acquainted with) than by the sword of the English.

The Connecticut forces had very good success when sent into the Narraganset country, under the command of the wonderfully successful Major Talcot, Capt. George Denison, and Capt. Newbury, with other worthy commanders of the said forces : For, on the 2d of July, 1676, as the said commanders with the forces under them were pursuing the enemy in and about the Narraganset country towards Mount-Hope, hearing that Philip with his black regiment of Wompanoogs were thereabouts, their Indian scouts from the top of a hill discovered a great number of the enemy that had newly pitched their station within the semicircle of a swamp. The English soldiers were all mounted on horse-back, to the number of 300 ; wherefore the commanders ordered the Indians to be ready at the top of the hill, upon a signal given to run down rapidly upon the enemy, who were securely lodged in the hallow of a swamp just opposite them, while the horsemen being devided into two

squadrons, to ride around the hill, so that at the same instant both the horsemen upon the two wings, and the Indians a foot rushing down suddenly upon the enemy, put them into such a terrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, some getting into the swamp, the rest that were prevented by the horsemen and the friendly Indians coming so suddenly upon them, were all taken prisoners; Capt. Newbury with his troop alighting from their horses ran into the swamp after them, where they killed at least a hundred as was judged by some then present, taking also many prisoners out of those habitations of darkness, the enemy scarce daring to make any resistance; for none of the English, and but one or two of the Mohegans and Pequods were hurt in the assault; yet it was affirmed by a captain present on the place, that with those they killed and took at Warwick neck in their return home, (which were not above sixty) that they killed and took of the enemy at that time above 300 young and old. At the same time was taken the old squaw of Narragsnset, commonly called the old queen.

Among the prisoners then taken was a sprightly young fellow, seized by the Mohegans, who desired of the English commanders that he might be delivered into their hands, that they might put him to death in their *own way*, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which brutish

and devilish passion they most of all delighted in. The English, tho' not delighted in blood, yet at this time were not unwilling to gratify their humour, lest by a denial they might disoblige their Indians friends, of whom they lately made so much use ; partly also that they might have an ocular demonstration of the savage barbarous cruelty of the heathen. And indeed, of all the enemies that have been the subjects of the preceding narrative, this villian did most deserve to become an object of justice and severity ; for he boldly told them that he had with his gun dispatched 19. English, and that he had charged it for the 20th, but not meeting with another, and unwilling to lose a fair shot, he let fly at a Mohegan and killed him with which having completed his number he was fully satisfied. But, as is usually said, justice vindictive has iron hands, though leaden feet ; this cruel monster is now fallen into the hands of those that will repay him seven fold. In the first place therefore, making a great circle, they placed him in the middle that all their eyes might at the same time be pleased with the utmost revenge upon him ; they first cut one of his fingers round in the joint, at the trunk of his hand with a sharp knife, and then broke it off, as was formerly the custom to do with a slaughtered beast before he is uncased ; then they cut off another, and another after that, till they had finally dismembered one hand of all

its digits, the blood sometimes spirting out in streams a yard from his hand ; which barbarous and unheard of cruelty the English were not able to bear, it forcing tears from their eyes ; yet did not the unhappy victim ever relent, or shew any signs of anguish ; for being asked by his tormentors how he liked the war ? he replied he liked it very well, and found it as sweet as the Englishmen did their sugar. In this frame he continued till his executioners had dealt with the toes of his feet as they had done with the fingers of his hands before ; all the time making him dance round the circle, and sing till he had wearied both himself and them. At last they broke the bones of his legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which by some 'tis said he silently did, till they had knocked out his brains.

Within a few days after, 200 of the enemy within Plymouth jurisdiction being distressed with famine and fear of danger, came and submitted themselves to the government there ; but three of the company were presently detected of a cruel murder, and villainous assault upon one Mr. Clarke's house of Plymouth, by a well minded squaw that was amongst them (hoping that possibly such a discovery would be pleasing to the English) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign punishment, which the rest that surrendered themselves, did not in the least relent ; such

kind of villians being always exempted from acts of favor and mercy. Those 200 that had newly surrendered themselves, that they might give full proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a party of the English to a place not far off, where 20 more of the enemy might be surprized, amongst whom also was one known to be a bloody murderer of an Englishman the year before ; accordingly 8 Englishmen took 14 of the said Indians, and the next day brought in all the aforesaid 20 of the enemy, together with the said murderer, who was presently after executed, and the rest taken into favor.

It is affirmed also that five or six Sachems of Cape-Cod, towards the eastern part of it came with 3000 Indians to make peace with the English, on the 6th of July, one of the said Sachems earnestly desiring the English, that none of them might be suffered to sell any strong liquors to the Indians, the trading of which, possibly has in a measure contributed to the present mischiefs.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruin was near at hand ; yet that he might in imitation of him that stirred up all this mischief, express the more wrath because he knew his time was but short, intended if possible to destroy one more town before his overthrow came ; wherefore on the 11th of July, with all the force he could get, or that he had left, he intended to set upon Taunton, having as was conceived, many hundreds in his

company ; but his design being strangely discovered by a negro whom they had taken captive a little before, that having lived near the Indians before, understood much of their language, who making his escape from them, acquainted the inhabitant with the plot ; who having timely notice, furnished themselves with soldiers, whereby they were able to repulse the enemy upon his first approach ; so as he only fired two houses and then fled away.

The 22d of this month of July as is hinted before, the companies sent from Concord May 30th, up towards Hadley, having spent much time and pains in pursuit of Philip all the country over (whom they could not yet overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious marches through the desert woods, before they returned home, some of them were sent toward Mount-Hope yet their labour was well improved, and followed with good success at the last : For in ranging those woods in Plymouth colony, they killed and took (by the help of Capt. Mosely's company, and Capt. Brattle's troop joining with Major Bradford's company, of Plymouth colony) a hundred and fifty Indians, without the loss of a man on their side.

At another time they took Philip's Squaw, and one of his chief councillors ; and about the same time another Sachem about Pocasset, with 40 Indians submitted himself to the government of Plymouth, on promise of life and liberty. It seemed

that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time also for the destruction of our enemies: For the last week in July the Massachusetts understanding that some Indians were seen roving up and down the woods about Dedham, almost starved for want of victuals, sent a small company of 26, with about 9 or 10 christian Indians, who pursued and took 50 of the enemy, without any loss to the English; at which time also a great quantity of wampampeag and powder were taken from the enemy. That which increased this victory was the slaughter of Pomham, who was the stoutest and most valiant Sachem that belonged to the Narragansets, whose courage and strength was so great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight so as he could not stand, yet catching hold of an Englishman that by accident came near him had done him an injury if he had not been presently rescued by one of his neighbours. Amongst the rest of the captives at that time, was one of the said Pomham's sons, a very likely youth, and one whose countenance would have bespoke favor for him had he not belonged to so bloody and barbarous an Indian as his father was.

These successes being daily spread abroad among the Indians, put many of them into a trembling condition not knowing well how to dispose of themselves. Some that had been less active in these tragedies, and were rather led by others than

any wise inclined to mischief themselves, ventured to submit themselves, of which number was one of Nipnet Sachems, called Sagamore John, who July 27th, came to surrender himself to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts at Boston, bringing with him 180 of the Indians. This John, that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose friendship he was now willing to seek after, did by a wile get into his hands one Mateonas, an old malicious villian, who was the first that did any mischief within the Massachusetts colony, July 14th, 1675; whose head ever since hangs upon a pole near the gibbet where he was hanged up.

About this time several parties of English within Plymouth jurisdiction, were willing to have a hand in so good a matter as catching of Philip would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to hasten his fall. Amongst others, a small party went out of Bridgewater, July 31st, upon discovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a company of Indians where Philip was; they came up with them and killed some of his particular friends; Philip himself was next to his uncle that was shot down, and had the soldier that had his choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right bird, he might as well have taken him as his uncle; but 'tis said that he had not long cut off his hair that

he might not be known: The party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep close together in the rear, that cunning fox escaped away through the bushes undiscerned. That which was most remarkable in this design, was that trembling fear appeared to be upon the Indians at this time, insomuch that one having a gun in his hand, well loaded, yet was not able to fire it off, but suffered an English soldier to come up to him and shoot him; the English in this battle never lost a man.

The like terror was seen in others at that time, for within two days after, capt. Church, the terror of the Indians in Plymouth colony, marching in pursuit of Philip, with about 30 Englishmen and 20 reconciled Indians, took 23 of the enemy, and the next day following them by their tracks, fell upon their head quarters, and killed and took 130 of them, one of their own countrymen espied them first, called aloud to them in their own language, telling them that if they shot a gun they were all dead men: with which they were so much amazed, that they durst not once fire at the English, which made the victory the more remarkable.— Philip made a very narrow escape at that time, being forced to leave his treasures, his beloved wife and only son, to the mercy of the English. Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life. His ruin being thus gradually carried on, his mis-

ery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himself made acquainted with the sense and experimental feeling of the captivity of his children, loss of friends, slaughter of his subjects, bereavement of all family relations, and being stripped of all outward comforts, before his own life should be taken away. Such a sentence passed upon Cain, would make him cry out, that his punishment was greater than he could bear. This bloody wretch has but one week more to live, as his own followers began now to plot against his life; for, August 6th, an Indian willing to shift for himself fled to Taunton, offering to lead any of the English that would follow him, to a party of Indians, which 20 persons attempted, and accordingly seized the whole company, 26 in number, all but the squaw sachem herself, who intending to make an escape from the danger, attempted to get over the river, or arm of the sea near by, upon a raft or some pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and spent with swimming, or starved with cold and hunger, she was stark naked in Metapoiset, not far from the water side, which made some think that she was first half drowned, and so ended her wretched life just in that place where the year before she had helped Philip to make his escape; her head being cut off and set upon a pole in Taunton, was known by some Indians then prisoners, which set them into a horrible lamentation;

but such was the righteous hand of God in bringing at last that mischief upon themselves, which they had without cause long acted against others.

Philip, like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces thro' the woods above a hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount-Hope, where he retired with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast until the messenger of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a peace, inso-much that he caused one of his confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace; which so provoked some of his company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them (a relation to him that was killed) fled to Rhode-Island, whither the brave Capt. Church was newly retired to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week, informing them that Philip was gone to a swamp in Mount-Hope, whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome news, and the best cordial for such martial spirits; whereupon he immediately, with a small company

of men, part English and part Indians, began another march which shall prove fatal to Philip, and end that controversy between the English and him: For coming very early to the side of the swamp, his soldiers began to surround it, and whether the devil appeared to him in a dream that night, as he did unto Saul, foreboding his tragical end, it matters not; as he was endeavouring to make his escape out of the swamp, he was shot through the heart by an Indian of his own nation, as it is said, that had all this while preserved a neutrality until this time, but now had the casting vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had been so long in suspense.

With Philip at this time fell five of his truest followers, of whom one was said to be the son of his chief captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before. This was done the 12th day of August 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favor to the colony of Plymouth, who had for their former success, appointed the 17th day of August following, to be kept as a day of solemn thanksgiving to almighty God. There having been so strange a turn of providence observed in the late successes obtained in and about Plymouth colony, it may not be amiss here to enquire into the occasions that did lead thereunto, and also into the progress and continuance thereof, after the slaughter of Philip the grand REBEL.

In the preceeding narration frequent mention has been made of one Capt. Church, whom God has made an instrument of signal victories over the Indians in that colony, and of great advantage in that respect to that whole jurisdiction. It happened that the said Capt. Church some time in June, of this present year 1676, passing over in a canoe from Pocasset to Rhode-Island, as he used frequently to do, having had much employment upon the said neck of land so called, several Indians whom he had known before at Lakenham, a village near Plymouth, beckoned to him, as if they had a mind to speak with him; he having had so much experience as well as others of their treachery, was not willing to adventure too hastily to come near them; but when they seemed to urge very much, and made signs to him, and at last laid down their guns in his sight, he began to think with himself there might be something in the matter more than ordinary, therefore he resolved to go a little nearer the shore, and then he perceived they had a great mind to speak with him, using much importunity for that end, insomuch that he ventured to go ashore amongst them, having but one Englishman and two Indians with him; he directed them to keep off the canoe while he discoursed with the Indians on shore.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the war, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off

from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the war: For said he, upon this Pocasset, July 7th, 1675, you first fought with some of Rhode-Island, whereof one was my own servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at myself and company, before ever we meddled with you. They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace, which they seemed very desirous to obtain upon any equal terms, as was said before. There were about fifteen of the Indians present, besides their Sunke Squaw (which is with us their Governess or Lady) in conclusion they engaged forever after to leave Philip, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them.

It is here to be observed, that those were not properly Philip's Indians, but belonged to the Seaconet Squaw, who was nearly related to Philip, and her subjects had hitherto fought in Philip's quarrel, till they saw nothing but misery and mischief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About 20 or 30 of these Seaconet Indians have constantly gone out with Capt. Church ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every enterprize they have gone about, nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other Indians:

And it is said that this act of these Indians broke Philip's heart as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never rejoiced after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of those under Capt. Church's command: For at the swamp when Philip was slain, Capt. Church appointed an Englishman and an Indian to stand at such a place of the swamp, where it happened Philip was breaking away: the morning being wet and rainy, the Englishmen's gun would not fire; the Indian having an old musket with a large touch-hole, it took fire the more readily, with which Philip was dispatched, the bullet passing directly through his heart.

Thus did divine vengeance retaliate on this notorious traitor, that had against his league and covenant risen up against the government of Plymouth, to raise up against him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the English: The Indian that did this execution was called Alderman, of Seaconet, a friendly Indian that never done any act of hostility against the English.

In June last one Tiashq, a great Captain of his, his wife and child, or children being taken, though he escaped himself at first, yet came in since and surrendered himself. The next noted captain of Philip's Indians that was brought in after Philip's death, was called Tespiquin, a notorious villian,

next to Philip, he was called the black Sachem's son: It was this Tespiquin that burnt so many houses at Plymouth lately. Capt. Church with his company were in pursuit of him in September last two days before they could get near him, at the last, on the third day, they found the track made by the said Tespiquin's party, as they went to fetch apples from the English orchards: This was something of a blind track, therefore they were forced to take up their quarters that night without discovering any place of their rendezvous. The next morning about 9 o'clock they came to their first rendezvous, from which they were just gone: At 1 o'clock they came to the second, and missing them there, they soon after came to the third track, wherein after they had marched a while, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a child which they heard: The place was near Lakenham, upon Pocasset neck, so full of bushes that a man could not see a rod before him: Capt. Church ordered his men to march up together in one rank, because he discovered the Indians were laid in one range by several fires, so that by that time they all came up into an even rank very near together, within a few yards of them, as he had appointed, they all suddenly rushed in upon them, and caught hold of them, not suffering any to escape, there being about fifty of them in all: Tespiquin's wife and children were there, but he was absent, as also one Jacob, and a girl

that belonged to that company. The Captain's haste would not admit of his tarrying till they came in, wherefore he thought upon this project, to leave two old Squaws upon the place, with victuals, and bid them tell Tespiquin that he should be his captain over his Indians if he was found so stout a man as they reported him to be; for the Indians had said that Tespiquin could not be pierced by a bullet, for said they, he was shot twice, but the bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the captain marched away with his booty, leaving this trap behind him to take the rest: The next morning he came to see what his trap had caught, there he found Jacob aforesaid (a notorious villain) and the girl he missed before, but not Tespiquin.

But within a day or two after the said Tespiquin, upon the hopes of being made a captain under capt. Church, came after some of the company, and submitted himself in the captain's absence, and was sent to Plymouth, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a captain's commission did depend) he was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell down at the first shot, and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness. About a fortnight after the surprising of Tespiquin, was one Totoson's company taken, wherein were above 50 persons; but Totoson escaped, and is still out in rebellion, unless vengeance (as s hoped) hath overtaken him since.

The next that was seized was one Annawan, a very subtle, politic fellow, and one of Philip's chief counsellors; he had about twelve men, and as many women and children in his company, who were discovered by their shooting at the English horses and cattle; some of whom being taken, they made known the rest. Capt. Church at that time had but five Englishmen, and twenty Indians. The place where this Annawan had betaken himself, was a ledge of rocks inaccessible but at one place, which by a few hands might easily have been defended against a great number of assailants: But Capt. Church by direction got up to their wigwams before they were aware of it; and presently told Annawan that he came to sup with him that night; whereupon the said Annawan (who had fallen flat upon the earth, expecting to have his head cut off,) looked up and cried taubut, in their language, thank you, as one being much effected with the generosity of our English Captain; they found some English beef boiling in their kettles: After supper he had much discourse with the said Annawan, they lay down to sleep together in the wigwam; Capt. Church laying one of his legs upon Annawan, and the other upon his son, that he might have notice if any of them offered to stir: After midnight Annawan rose up, and Capt Church was presently awake, and intended to watch after his prisoner: He thought at first he might have gone forth upon some necessary occasion: but not long

after he returned again, having fetched out of a swamp hard by, two horns of powder, and a large belt of peag, supposed to be Philip's belt, all which he delivered to Capt. Church, in a way of thankful acknowledgement of his courtesy.

It is said that Philip when he first began his rebellion, had about 300 fighting men under him, besides those that belonged to his kinswoman Weta-moc, drowned about Taunton, that had almost as many under her ; and one Quenopin, a Narraganset Sachem that lived near him, and joined with him in his quarrel with the English : But it is certain that there are scarce any that are now left, that belonged to either of them : So although the Almighty hath made use of them to be a scourge to his people, he hath now turned his hand against them to their utter destruction and extirpation from off the face of the earth, peradventure to make room for others of his people to come in their stead.

As for the rest of the Narragansets that joined in Philip's quarrel, it is already declared what end they were come unto. As for the rest of the Indians whether Nipnet, Nashaway, Pacomtuck, Hadley, or Springfield Indians, it is not so certain what is become of them ; but after their seperation one from the other about July last, it was observed by all the tracks in those woods, they went still westward ; and about the middle of August last, a great party of them were observed to pass by Westfield, a small town to the west of Springfield,

and were judged to be about 200 : News thereof being brought to Major Talcot, he with the soldiers of Connecticut colony under his command, both Indians and English, pursued after them as far as Ausoinnoog river (in the middle way betwixt Westfield and the Dutch river, and Fort Albany) where he overtook them, and fought with them ; killing and taking 45 prisoners, 25 whereof were fighting men, without the loss of any one of his company save a Mohegan Indian : Many of the rest were badly wounded, as appeared by the bushes being much besmeared with blood, as was observed by them that followed them a little further.

The Indians being thus dispersed several ways, were strangely confounded and destroyed one parcel after another, until there was none left in the western or southern parts, that durst make any opposition all the following part of the year. As for those that fled westward toward Albany, we shall here leave them for the present, wishing we may never hear any more of them : A person of quality informs, that at Hartford in September last, he was present at the examination of one Choos, an Indian, formerly of Connecticut, but one of the Narraganset fort the last winter, who confessed that he was one of that company of Indians that went westward the month before, toward Hudson's river ; but after the fight at Ausotunnoog, he said he returned back to Connecticut for fear of the Mohawks ; and that he lay hid about Farmington, till he was al-

most starved; and then he went to Stratford for his relief, where he was espied by the Indians, and so brought to Hartford.

He affirmed that there were above 250 fighting men amongst those Indians that fled westward, besides women and children; and that near 200 of them passed the great river below Albany, and were sheltered by the Indians of that place, called Moheganders; but about 80 of them tarried on the hither side of that river, near a Dutch village. But he being convicted of fighting against the English, was condemned to die, and executed about the same time. Some few of the rest were skulking about the Narraganset country the last fall, hoping to shelter themselves under Uncas, but he not willing to give them countenance against the minds of his friends at Connecticut, hath since abandoned them to shift for themselves, who have been most of them taken and brought in prisoners to the English this winter.

About the month of October last, Mr. Stanton chanced to come from Seaconk with 3 Indians in his company, Pequods or Mohegans, they hearing by a captive at one of the next towns, that there was a number of the enemy not far off, presently left Mr. Stanton and pursued after them, whom they soon overtook, and made them all prisoners. Amongst them was an old man, not able to go their pace, but promising to come after them, they spared his life: But as soon as the men returned at

night from hunting, the old man told them what had befallen their women and children, whereupon the next morning they presently followed after them, overtook them, and so recovered the prisoners, and slew one of the three that carried them away; the other two hardly escaped; one of them is called Major Symon, being part a Pequod and part Narraganset, but of an extraordinary strength and courage; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets; but they unwilling to hang their success upon the hazard of a single combat, came all towards him at once, whereupon first discharging his gun amongst the whole company, he broke through them all by force, and so escaped their hands, with one of his companions. This Symon hath been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy; some say that he with his own hands hath taken and killed above three score; and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the English, is this last week gone with the soldiers to the eastward, in pursuit of our quarrel against them in those parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out against the enemy, he came suddenly upon a great number of them as they were spread under a steep bank, from whence leaping down into the midst of them, he killed some and took others.— Fighting it seems is a recreation to him, for he is seldom at home above four or five days together.

Some say that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and spent he laid himself down to sleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, wherein he apprehended the Indians were upon him, when suddenly rising up he espied the Indians coming toward him, but suddenly presenting his gun against them, he so frightened them, that they gave him an opportunity to make his escape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of December, last, news coming down to Boston that mischief was done about Seaconk and Rehoboth, by some remaining Indians thereabouts, killing their swine and horses, several persons of Medfield went out after them, and pursuing them by their track, came upon a small party, of whom they took three, one of which escaped while some of the company were gone after the rest. Those that were taken confessed there was about 60 that were lurking up and down in these woods. The said two Indians were brought into Boston the 8th of January.

A commission was formerly granted to Peter Ephraim, an Indian of Natick, to go out in pursuit of them with 29 of his company; a few of the English from Medfield went with him, who being soon tired with marching in the snow, returned. The Indians kept on in their design, and came across a considerable party of the enemy, having traced them till they found where they lodged over night; they surrounded them early in the morn-

ing, as their manner is, and then offered them quarters if they would yield; eight resolute fellows refused, who were instantly shot, the rest were all seized the whole number was forty-two. This was done about the middle of January, since which several such exploits have been done by them. January 23d, the same company of Indians took 23 of the enemy, among whom were five able men, and five arms; they sent the prisoners home by five of their company, the rest went further in the chace.

January 26th, another parcel of the enemy were brought in, eight in number, of whom five were men, amongst whom was the Indian called Cornelius, who three years since was indicted for killing an Englishman's cow; upon which he is said to have uttered several threatening speeches, that he would kill Englishmen and their cows too; which was now remembered against him, when he was in particular called to account for having a hand in killing some of the English and Indians also in league with us, for which he was sentenced to die, and was accordingly executed the 15th of February following.

Concerning the rest of the Indians either in the colony of Plymouth, Connecticut or Massachusetts, there is no occurrence more of moment come to light since the end of August last, save what is mentioned before: yet it was very remarkable, that although terms of peace were offered to all those that would come in and surrender themselves (as appears by a declaration put out in July last)

and that a Nipnet Sachem called John did there-upon with a number of his company come in and offer themselves, and were accordingly secured of their lives and other concernments, yet did this treacherous villian make an escape this winter from Capt. Prentice's house, under whose charge he was put, about Cambridge village, and with above twenty more fled away into the woods to shift for himself amongst the rest of his bloody companions: they were soon after pursued, but had gone too fast and too far to be overtaken. They made none acquainted with their design before they went away; and as yet little account can be given of them, only it is known that one or two of their number have since been killed, and that one or two of their families are entertained by Uncas, but what is become of the rest is uncertain; there were but seven men of the company, so they are not capable of doing much mischief.

And because in the present narrative there has been frequent mention made of Uncas the Mohegan* Sachem, and of his faithfulness to the interest of the English, I add in this place, that it is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English or their religion, than the rest of his countrymen, and that it had been his own advantage that hath led

* The tribe though greatly diminished, remains this day.

him to be thus true to them who have upheld him as formerly against the Pequods, so of late against the Narragansets : yet hath he not long since been convicted of the truth of our religion and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed ; which will evidently appear by the passage that follows, which I here represent just as it was from under the hand of that reverend person it relates unto, namely Mr. Fitch, pastor of the church at Norwich near unto which Uncas's place is. There was a great drought the last summer, but as it seems, it was more extreme in those parts than with us about the Massachusetts ; and although probably the English might have prayed for rain themselves without any motion from the Indians, yet their address to the said Mr. Fitch on such an account, with the consequences thereof, is very remarkable ; the following account is taken from his own words :

“ Concerning the drought, &c. the true narrative of that province is this. In August last such was the want of rain, that the Indian corn was not only dried and parched up, but the apple trees withered, the fruit and leaves fell off as in autumn, and some trees seemed to be dead with that drought : the Indians came into town and did lament their want of rain, and that their powawes could get none in their way of worship, desiring me that I would seek to God for rain : I appointed a fast day for that purpose ; the day being come, it proved clear,

without any clouds until sun setting, when we came from the meeting, and then some clouds arose; the next day remained cloudy; then Uncas with many Indians came to my house, Uncas lamented there was such want of rain; I asked whether if God should send us rain he would not attribute it to their powawes; he answered no, for they had done their uttermost and all in vain; I replied, if you will declare it before all these Indians you shall see what God will do for us. Then Uncas made a great speech to the Indians (which were many) confessing that if God should then send rain, it could not be ascribed to their powawing, but must be acknowledged to be an answer of our prayres. This day the clouds spread more and more, and the next day there was such a plenty of rain, that our river rose more than two feet in height."

By all that is recorded in the foregoing narrative, there are none into whose hands it shall come, but will be sensible that the present time has been a day of great rebuke and trouble to the poor people sojourning in the wilderness, upon whom sundry calamities have broke in at once this last, as well as in the former years: In many places they have been visited with sickness and mortality, depriving them of many worthy and useful persons; among others the loss of Mr. John Winthrop, the late worthy Governor of the colony of Connecticut, is as it ought to be, much lamented by all, who died at Boston, the 5th of A.

pril, 1676, in the 73d year of his age, whither he was occasionally called the last winter, to sit with the rest of the Commissioners of the united colonies, to consult about the great affairs of them, now newly engaged in these troubles from the Heathen. He was the eldest son of the famous Governor of the Massachusetts, deceased March 26, 1649.

After all the aforementioned calamities and troubles, it pleased God to alarm the town of Boston, and in that the whole country, by a sad fire accidentally kindled by the carelessness of an apprentice that set up too late over night, the fire began an hour before day, continuing three or four days, in which time it burned down to the ground 46 dwelling-houses, besides other buildings, together with a large meeting-house. Some mercy was observed mixt with judgment; for if a great rain had not continued all the time falling, the whole of the town would have been consumed.

We will now enter into a relation of those troubles that befel the eastern and northern parts of New-England.

The whole being scarce worth half those mens lives that have been lost these two last years in hopes to save it.

Ever since the first settling of any English plantation in those parts about Kennebeck, for the space of above fifty years, the Indians always carried it fair, and held good correspondence with the English, until the news came of Phillip's rebellion

and rising against the inhabitants of Plymouth colony in the end of June, 1675 ; after which time it was apprehended by such as had the examination of the Indians about Kennebeck, that there was a general surmise amongst them, that they should be required to assist the said Philip, although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the quarrel. The like jealousies did appear in all the Indians that inhabited to the eastward of Piscataqua, which plainly shews that there was a design of a general rising of the Indians against the English all over the country (possibly as far as Virginia, the Indians there making insurrections the same year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the oldest and wisest of them did not like it, fearing the issue, as they had cause: But many of the young men about Casco Bay, and Amos-coggan were certainly known to flock thither the last year, and did, sundry of them, come short home: For herein they acted but like savages, as those in Virginia did fifty years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new neighbours, till they had an opportunity to do them mischief. So that notwithstanding many of the inhabitants in the eastern, as well as in the western parts of the country, that were wont to trade with the Indians, were not willing to believe any such purpose among them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the English, by

their imprudent and irregular actions, had driven them into this rebellion; yet is it too evident that the said Indians (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful actions) did lay hold of any opportunity that might serve as a pretence for their barbarous practices. The Indians about Wammeset and Piscataqua, that had joined with their countrymen in their rising against the English the last winter, when they were pinched with hunger, in the cold winter following returned back to the English, and desired to make peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted friendship; yea, some of them, as if they were really sorrow for their murders and cruelties, of their own voluntary motion came with the prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the English, yet when their own ends were answered, and another opportunity was offered of doing further mischief of a like nature, they presently returned to their former practice, as is well known of Simon and Andrew, that had killed some, and led others captive the last spring from Bradford and Haverhill, who came in the end of June to Major Waldern's, bringing home English prisoners with them, yet did the very same Indians within less than two months after join with the Amoscoggan and Kennebeck Indians, in committing the sad tragedies that were last acted in those parts; yet was he and his partner suffered to escape for want of sufficient guarding the prison where they were put,

in order for further trial. But it is hoped that we shall after some few more experiences of this nature, learn to beware of this subtile brood and generation of vipers. Ever since enmity was put between the seed of the women and the seed of the serpent it hath been the portion of her seed in every generation, and in every nation to meet with the sad effects of that enmity; nor can they expect to find better dealing from any of the other sort, either fear of their power, or hope of benefit by their favor, may induce them to another disposition, as we the inhabitants of New-England have found by this late and sad experience in reference to these Pagan in the west, amongst whom our lot is cast, they proving, as one says of the Mohometants in the east, like a nest of hornets, that if any one of them chance to be provoked, they will be all about his ears, that comes near them. But it is now time to begin with the particulars of the tragedy itself, that the reader account not the prologue too long. It was on the 24th of June, 1676, when the first mischief was done by the Indians about Mount-Hope, before twenty days were over, the first fire began to kindle in these more remote and northerly bounds of the said country, of two hundred and fifty miles distance, and upon this occasion, the 11th of July, 1676, a letter was brought to Kennebeck, from one Henry Sawyer, an inhabitant of York, signifying the news of the Indians rising about Plymouth, and that a course was ta-

ken to disarm the Indians along the shore. This rumour did so far awaken the inhabitants of those parts, that the very next day, at a general meeting of the English, at one Capt. Parrish's house, several offered themselves as volunteers to go up the said river of Kennebeck, to make discovery of the Indians fidelity, or else to fight them if there was occasion. The third day, after marching up the river to Quegeseck, they met with the inhabitants of Sheepscut river, which is a river lying about twelve or fourteen miles to the north-east of Kennebeck. Divers of the Indians thereabouts, by the persuasion of one Mr. Walker, that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable part of the ammunition, as a few guns, a little powder and shot, with a few knives. About 7 of the Kennebeck Indians, and 5 of those called Amoscoggon Indians about Pegyscot (a river more southward towards Casco) made this pretence of bringing in their arms. Capt. Lake, Capt. Parrish, and Mr. Wiswall, in whose hands was settled a kind of military power for those parts, were sent for further to examine the said Indians, of whom upon examination they saw reason to suspect some, if not all, whereupon they sent messengers a second time to the Amoscoggon Indians, and also a letter to Mr. Walker, to send down their arms and ammunition to them for their greater security. After Mr. Wiswall was returned home, the 5 Amoscoggon Indians aforesaid, brought

in their guns, but probably with no good intent ; for a Indian called Sowen, having an ax in his hand, struck at one Hosea Mallet, a Frenchman, but was prevented from doing him any mischief ; however, the said indians was presently bound and put into a cellar. Some of the English, that used to trade with those Indians were ready to excuse the Indian, saying that he was drunk, or that he was a distracted fellow, but Mr. Wisall, with the other two examinants, looked upon those as mere excuses, and altogether groundless, for one of them to this day affirms that he was as rational and sensible as any of the rest.

The ancient Indians being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the said case, said he was worthy to die for such an affront, yet they would be glad if his life might be spared, offering to be jointly bound in his behalf, to pay 40 beaver skins at the next fall voyage, giving their hands in token of their fidelity, and also leaving their arms in the hands of the English as a pledge of their faithfully keeping those articles of peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themselves honest men they were to have their arms again, which was accordingly preformed the last June, 1676 ; they having in the mean time carried themselves peaceably towards the English. The day after, viz. July the 19th, 1675, an Indian of great note amongst them, called Robbinhood, with great applause of the rest, made a dance, and sung several songs, to

declare their content in what was transacted; and so they parted, setting the Indians at liberty that had engaged for their friend Sowen, the Indian; but yet to this day no one skin of beaver was ever paid to the English, as promised; the Indians were all this time well provided for victuals by Capt. Lake, with other supplies of rum and tobacco, even to the disgusting of some of the English then present.

The English in those parts being much incensed hereat, twenty-five of them soon after going up Casco-Bay in a sloop and two boats to gather Indian corn, and to look to what they had upon the said Bay, near Amoscoggan river; when they came near the houses they heard a knocking, and a noise about the houses, and presently espied two or three Indians, who as yet did not see them.—The English being come a good way from their vessel, endeavoured to get between the Indians and the woods, which when they perceived, they ran toward the water side, but the English in pursuit killed one of them and wounded another, who however escaped away in a canoe across the river; a third running back toward the woods, fled to the other Indians and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down and lay in wait to intercept the English, that thought of no danger, but were scattered all about the place to gather the corn, and lade the boats therewith, but before they were ready to go away, the Indians coming down,

fired upon them, and forced them all into the sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest they might have all been cut off; for some little resistance being made by them that were ready with their guns, it gave the rest an opportunity to get all into the sloop, yet not without many wounds. So with much ado they all escaped with their lives, leaving the two boats almost laden with corn, a prey to the Indians who presently burnt one, and plundered the other of all that was therein: some are ready to think that the English did imprudently begin the quarrel, and not first enquire into what the Indians were about in the house, and seek redress according to an agreement made before between the English and said Indians. But it happened after what follows next to be related, viz. that which was done to old Mr. Wakefield and his family, the English can be blamed for nothing but their negligence and security, in having alarmed their enemies, they stood not better upon their guard, which is not very certain; for tis thought within a few days after, or the next week, a more horrible outrage was committed upon the family of an ancient man, whose name was Wakely, an inhabitant of Casco-Bay, who had some years before removed from Gloucester or Cape-Ann, out of some discontent, which afterwards he often bewailed, resolving either to have returned back or else to have removed to some securer place, but he was arrested by the sons of violence before he could effect his purpose.

This old man, together with his wife, his son and his daughter in law, then far advanced in pregnancy, with three grand-children, were cruelly murdered by those barberous savages, at one time; another of his grand-children was taken alive and led into captivity, a daughter of his was said to have been carried to Narraganset, which shews that they joined with the southern Indians in the rebellion. When once these Indians had embrued themselves in English blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody attempts in the adjacent places.

This Wakely lived so far from his neighbours, or else was encompassed with creeks or rivers, that no relief could presently be sent to him; however, Lieut. Ingerson of Casco, the next day with a file of men, repaired to the place where the house stood, to see what was the reason of the fire they discerned the day before, where they found the house burned to ashes, the bodies of the old man and his wife half consumed with the fire, the young woman killed, and three of the grand-children having their brains beat out, and their bodies laid under some oaken plank not far from the house: one girl of about eleven years old, was carried captive by them, but was returned back in a few months after.

Soon after, Capt. Bonithon's and Major Philip's dwellings were assaulted, one on the east, the other on the west side of Saco river. It is said they had seasonable notice of what was intended a

gainst them by a friendly Indian of Saco, which induced Capt. Bonithon to leave his house, and retire over the river with his family to Maj. Phillip's garrison ; upon the 18th of September following, those at Major Phillip's garrison saw Capt. Bonithon's house on fire, which by the good Providence of God was to them as the firing of a beacon, giving them notice to look to themselves, for otherwise they might, to their great disadvantage, have been too suddenly surprized, for within half an hour after they were upon them, when a sentinel placed in the chamber gave notice that he saw an Indian by the fence side near a corn field ; Major Phillips, not willing to believe till he might see with his own eyes, ran hastily up, another of his men coming after, cried, Major what do you mean ? do you intend to be killed ; at which words he turned suddenly back from the window out of which he was looking, when presently a bullet struck him on the shoulder, the Indians thinking he was slain, gave a shout and surrounded the house, the English fired upon them and wounded their Captain, who soon after died. The fight continued about an hour when the enemy despairing to take the house by assault, thought upon a device how to burn it. First firing the house of one of his tenants, then his saw-mill, after that his corn-mill, hoping by that means to draw them out of the garrison to put out the fire, but missing of their pur-

pose in that, they called out, you English cowardly dogs come out and quench the fire. The besieged hoped for relief from the town, but none came, the Major still encouraging his men to hold out, which they manfully did all that night, during of which they could hear their axes and other instruments, knocking about the mills till the next day. Those within the house conceived they were preparing some engine wherewith to burn the house, which really was the case, for about four o'clock in the morning, the Major was called to look out, when he saw a cart with four wheels, having a barricado built in the fore part to keep off shot, and filled with combustibile matter, birch rinds, straw, powder, and poles 20 feet long, ready to fire the house: he bid them let them drive it within pistol shot, before they made any shot against them; his men were a little discouraged at the sight of this engine; but he bid them be of good courage. The cart when brought a little nearer became unwieldy by reason of the barricado planted in it, and being to pass through a small gutter, one wheel stuck fast in the slough, which brot the cart suddenly to the left, whereby many that were behind the barricado were brought in full view, and having a fair shot upon them, killed 6 and wounded 15 at the first discharge, which made them take to their heels and depart.

Within a few days after these barbarous facts,

two Indians assaulted the house of one Tozer at Newechewannic, wherein were 15 persons, yet all women and children, a young maid of about 18 years of age, first espied them, who being endued with great courage, shut too the door and refused them entrance until the others within had escaped to the next house which was better fortified; the young heroess kept the door shut against them so long that they chopped it to pieces with their hatchets, and on gaining entrance they knocked her down and left her for dead, they then went to the other house, in their way meeting two children, one of which they killed and carried away the other captive. The poor maid that had ventured her life so far to save many others, was by a strange providence enabled to recover so much strength after they were gone, as to repair to the next garrison, where she was soon after healed of her wounds, and restored to perfect health again. Upon the 16th of October, being Saturday, about 100 of the Indians were gathered together to assault Newechewannick; they began with the said Mr. Tozer, half a mile from the upper garrison, at Salmon Falls: The said Tozer was presently killed, his son taken captive (but returned after some months restraint) several guns being shot at this assault, alarmed Lieut. Plaisted, at the next garrison, who like a man of a public spirit, immediately sent out 7 men from the garrison un-

der his command, to see what the matter was, but being met by an ambush laid in the way as they went lost 2 or 3 of their company, the rest hardly escaping back to the place from whence they came ; whereupon the said Lieut. Plaisted immediately dispatched away a messenger to Major Waldern, at Quecheho, which because it seems to be the last time that ever that good and useful man set pen to paper, the letter shall be here inserted.

“ Salmon Falls October 16th, 1675.

Mr. Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, these are to inform you, that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least 100 men, and have slain four of our men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Isaac Bottes and Tozer's son, and burnt Benoni Hudson's house : Sirs, if ever you have any love for us and the country, now shew yourselves with men to help us, or else we are all in great danger to be slain, unless our God wonderfully appear for our deliverance. They that cannot fight let them pray ; nothing else, but I rest,

Yours to serve.

ROGER PLAISTED,

GEORGE BROUGHTON.”

Lieut. Plaisted being more earnestly bent to perform that last office of love to his deceased friends, whom he could not by all his endeavours save from the danger of death, while they were

in the land of the living, would needs venture himself with 20 soldiers out of his garrison, to fetch off the dead bodies.

To that end he ordered a pair of oxen to be yoked to bring them to his garrison, in order to their christian burial, not considering that the Indians lay skulking thereabouts, waiting for such opportunities. They went first to the furthest place, where they found R. Tozer's body, and put it in the cart, but coming back to take up the other two bodies which were fallen in a little swamp nearer to the garrison, they were set upon by 150 of the enemy, who had hid themselves in the bushes, and under a stone wall, and logs in the way as they were to pass; by the sudden noise of the guns the cattle being frightened, ran away to the garrison with such of the dead as were first laid thereon (and possibly with one of them wounded at that instant) leaving their owners to fight it out with the enemy. Lieut. Plaisted being thus desperately assaulted, he with his 20 men was forced to retreat to a place of better advantage; but being there so warmly pursued, they were not able to abide it long, although they killed and mortally wounded several of the Indians, as themselves have since confessed; but they most of them being so much overmatched, took the opportunity of a fair retreat, and so got safe to their garrison, while Lieut. Plaisted out of the height of his courage,

disclaiming either to fly from, or yield himself (for 'tis said the Indians were loth to kill him, but desirous rather to take him prisoner) into the hands of such cursed caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till he was slain upon the place; his eldest son and another man were slain in their too late retreat, and his other son was sorely wounded, that he died within a few weeks after.

But let us look a little back to the plantations more eastward from Piscataqua river, where these outrages of the Indians first began.

At Casco-Bay, Lieut. Ingerson's son with another man, going out a fowling about this time, were both killed before they returned home, his father's houses being burnt, with many others also thereabouts.

Two persons were killed at Wells in the beginning of winter, one of them was a servant to Mr. William Symonds (one of the principal men in the town aforesaid) the gentleman himself with his family were removed to a garrison house in the middle of the town. His servant going early in the morning to look after some business there, tarried longer than was needful, to provide something for himself, the Indians invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor fellow pay the shot, when they had done, with the loss of his life.

In the latter end of June, 1676, the Indians that had made a general conspiracy against the English, were strangely dispersed and dispirited, so that they from that time began to separate one from another, and every nation of them to shift for themselves, as hath already been mentioned in the former part of his narrative. Canonius, the great Sachem of the Narragansets, distrusting the proffers of the English was slain in the woods by the Mohawks, his Squaw surrendered herself, by this means her life was spared.

Before the war with Philip was well ended to the southward, there was a fresh alarm sounded again to the eastward; for on the 11th of August, 1676, the very day before Philip's heart, that had harboured so many mischievous and treacherous devices against the English, was by one of his men shot through, a party of Indians began their outrages at Casco in a most perfidious and treacherous manner, killing and carrying away captive, to the number of 30 persons, and burning their houses; amongst whom was the family of one Anthony Bracket, an inhabitant of Casco who was thought to have been killed, but himself, with his wife, and one of his five children carried away captive, with a negro, did happily make an escape from their bloody and deceitful hands in November next ensuing.

The master how Anthony Bracket and his wife made their escape was very remarkable, and therefore judged worthy to be here inserted, although out of due place. The Indians that led them captive, having brot them to the north side of Casco Bay, news was brought to the said Indians of the surprizal of Arowsick house, in Kennebeck with all the stores therein, which did so rejoice them, that they made all haste to share in the good things there to be had: Thus eager to be gone, they promised Bracket and his wife that they also should have a share therein if they would make haste after them, bringing along a burthen allotted to each of them: The woman having a little before observed an old birch canoe lying by the water side, hoped it was an opportunity Providence offered for their escape; whereupon she first prudently asked the Indians to let the negro, their own servant (at the same time carried captive by them) help them to carry their burthens, which was granted; then she begged of them a piece or two of meat, which was not denyed them. Thus being furnished with help and provision; the Indians leaving them behind to come after with their several burthens, and a young child, they could not but look upon it as a nutrus Divinus, to bid them shift for themselves: The women also found a needle and thread in the house, with which she mended the canoe, while they tarried on that

side of the bay, in which they soon ventured to get away, which prosperously succeeded; for in that old canoe they crossed a water eight or nine miles broad, and when they came on the south side of the bay, they might have been in as much danger of other Indians that had lately been about Black-Point, and had taken it; but they were newly gone: So things on all side thus concurring to help forward their deliverances, they came safely to the flat at Black Point; where also by special Providence they met with a vessel bound for Piscataqua, that came into that harbour but a few hours before they came thither, by which means they arrived safe in Piscataqua river soon after; all which circumstances are very worthy to be noted.

Among those Indians that seized this Bracket's family, the Chief was one Simon, who had but a little before escaped out of Dover prison, where he was not carefully overlooked; he had had his hand in the murder of sundry English, as he had confessed; not missing any, save one, on whom he had discharged his gun; but because he came in voluntarily, bringing in a woman and five children of the English, who had been carried captive a little before, it was questioned whether his last act of submission might not balance his former transgression, and therefore he was committed to that, not so secure a prison, till his case might be further considered of. It is said that coming

to that Bracket's house over night, he pulled forth a counterfeited pass, under the hands of some public officers, or men intrusted with that service, making shew of all friendship; but in the morning, or soon after, he pulled off the vizor of a friend, and discovered what he was; yet granting life to this person and his family, that did not, nor could not resist, which he denied to some of the neighbours, not far off, who were many of them killed by this villian and his partners.

Mention is already made of what happened in September, 1675, to the company belonging to a sloop and two boats that went up Casco Bay to gather corn, upon that accident it is said divers Indians on the east side of Kennebeck river repaired to their fort at Totonneck (a place higher up in the country beyond Kennebeck and Sheepscot river) where was an English trading house: And the Indians eastward of said river, had as yet done no harm to any of the English, yet did Capt Sylvanus Davis, agent for Major Clarke and Capt. Lake of Boston, upon these overtures think fit to fetch down the powder and shot, with other goods from the said trading house, telling the Indians, by the messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below in that river, to take off jealousies, and that he would then supply them with things needful.—But the messenger told

them in case they would not come down and deliver up their arms the English would kill them.

Upon the 13th of August, 1676, several Indians repaired in the evening to the house of one Mr. Hammond, an ancient inhabitant, and trader with the Indians up Kennebeck river; his daughter, or a maid that was servant in the house, was either afraid of the natives, or else from something she observed in their countenance or carriage, manifested so much fear, as made her run out of the house to hide herself in some place abroad; the Indians perceiving it, the more to dissemble their treachery, ran after her, and brought her into the house, telling her (although they could not persuade her so to believe) that there was no reason to be afraid of them; presently after more of the barbarous villians coming into the house, she grew more afraid than before, being now more strongly persuaded that they came on purpose to kill or surprize those in the family, whereupon she suddenly made an escape out the house, and presently passed into a field of Indian corn, whereby she might the better avoid the danger of any pursuer, and so ran across over the land that night, ten or twelve miles, to give them notice that lived at Sheepscot river; it is said that after she got out, she heard a noise in the house as if they were fighting or scuffling within doors; but she did not count it wisdom to go back and see what the mat-

ter was, knowing before enough of their villanies, how well soever her mistress (that was more versed in the trade of the Indians) might think of them. Those of Sheepscot taking this warning, escaped away as soon as they could; leaving their cattle and dwelling as a prey to the Indians. What befel master Hammond and his family, is not yet certainly known: Reports pass up and down, that some who came down the river afterwards, saw some of the dead stripped upon the banks of the river, which makes us fear the worst concerning all the rest; for certainly the whole family, 16 in number, were all then either killed or carried away captive, none save the maid aforesaid, being known to make an escape, to inform their friends, like Job's messengers, what befel the rest of the family.

The Indians having in this manner surprized Mr. Hammond's house, they passed down the river the same night, but going by another house, they meddled not with the people, only turned their canoes adrift, that they might not find means afterwards to escape themselves, or help others so to do: Possibly their chief aim being at Arowsick house, they would not, for fear of being discovered, make any attempt upon any place near by; wherefore, the 14th of August, very early in the morning, having in the night, or before break of day, passed over on to the island called Arowsick

several of them undiscovered lay hid under the walls of the fort, and behind a great rock near adjoining, till the sentinel was gone off from his place (who went off it seems sooner than he should, considering the danger) when presently some Indians followed him in at the fort gate (as some have since reported) while others of them immediately seized the port holes thereof, and shot down all they saw passing up and down within the walls, and so in a little time became masters of the fort, and all that was within it: Capt. Lake (joint owner with Maj. Clarke, of the whole island) hearing the bustle that was below, betwixt the Indians and those that belonged to the place, was strangely surprized, yet himself with Capt. Sylvanus Davis, and two more, understanding that the Indians had seized the fort, and killed divers of the English, apprehending it bootless, or rather heartless to stay, as not being able to stand upon their guard, or make any resistance, made a shift to find a passage out at a back door, whereby they escaped to the waterside, where they found a canoe, into which they all entered, and made away toward another island near by: This was not done so secretly but the Indians discerned them before they were gone far; four of them therefore hastened after those that had escaped in another canoe, and coming within shot, discharged their guns upon them, whereby said Davis was badly wounded.

The other two were better foot men, and parting

with Capt. Lake, made their escape ten or twelve miles, to the farther end of the island, and so escaped from the Indians, till they found means to get off. Poor Capt. Lake, who a few hours before slept quietly in his mansion house, surrounded with a strong fortification, defended with many soldiers, is now forced to fly away with none to attend him; and as the awful hand of Providence ordered things, was as some say, pursued by such Indians as were mere strangers to the place, that knew not the master from the man, but by one of whom he was shot down, as is supposed soon after he came ashore; Lieut. Davis heard two guns, by which it was tho't, and soon after was known to be by an Indian, who hath since confessed to Capt. Davis that he shot him that day Arowsick was taken, which he intended not to have done, but he held up his pistol against him; whereas if he had but asked quarter, he should have had his life.

The Indians growing more bold by these attempts in those remote places, drew down nearer towards Piscataqua, for not long after a party of them came upon Cape Nidduck, where they killed and carried away all the inhabitants of a few scattering houses, to the number of seven in all; and such was their savage cruelty exercised in this place, as is not usual to be heard of, for having dashed out the brains of a poor woman that gave suck, they nailed the young child to the dead body of its

mother, which was found sucking in that awful manner. The day before a man and his wife were killed by them at Wells, and two more soon after. On the 12th of October following, near 200 of the Indians made an assault upon Black point, all the inhabitants being gathered into one fortified place upon that point, which a few hands might have defended against all the Indians on that side of the country; but as it seems one called Mugg, was the leader of the Indians, one that from a child had been well acquainted with the English, and had lived some years in English families, whotho' a cunning fellow, and had succeeded much in his attempts, yet at this time shewed more courtesy to the English, than according to former outrages could be expected from any of those barbarous miscreants and was willing to make offer of a treaty to Mr. Josselin, chief of the garrison, to whom the said Mugg promised liberty for all that were there, to depart with their goods upon the surrender of the place, which was accordingly done.

Upon the report of this sad disaster, all the plantations of the English in those parts were soon after left, and forsaken by degrees. All the rest of the inhabitants of Kennebeck river, Sheepscot river, Sagadahock, and Damanicottee, fearing to be served in the same way, fled to the islands of Cape Bonawagan, and Damaril's Cove.

On the second day at night a post was sent to Pemmaquid to inform them of what had happened,

who being but eight or ten men, had a mind to go on the island called Monhiggin, having secured the best of their goods, but the wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into Damaril's cove, where they found Mr. Wiswall, and Mr. Colicot: there they laboured two days to settle a garrison: but thro' the mutinous disposition of the people, and the want of provision, nothing could be done to secure the island, so that it was soon deserted. From thence they went to Monhiggin, resolving there to tarry till they heard from Boston, from whence Mr. Colicot, and Mr. Wiswall promised to do their utmost endeavour to send help. There they settled three guards, and appointed 25 to watch every night, but not knowing but that the Indians might come every hour. But continuing there a fortnight, and finding no relief like to come, and seeing all the country burnt round about, (for after they had got all from Pemmaquid, they saw in two hours all the other islands in flames) then considering what was best to be done, they found no boats could be sent to sea for fear of weakening the Island, and that most of them who were on it were strangers, coasters, and such as came from the main, and ready to be gone upon every occasion, they laid an embargo for one week; after which a letter was received from Major Clarke, desiring their assistance for enquiring after Capt. Lake, if alive, saying what could be had at Kennebeck, &c. but intimating nothing of any help like

to come ; besides, those that brought the letter told them it was in vain to expect any help from Boston, it being questioned there what they had to do with those parts. Upon which the inhabitants considered, that if they should tarry there and spend all their provision, and neither be able to go to sea, nor yet to live, or be safe ashore for want of help it were better for them to remove, while they had something to live upon, and seek employment elsewhere ; so by consent they resolved forthwith to transport themselves and what they had saved of their goods, to some place of security, so they sailed the first opportunity, some for Piscataqua, some for Boston, and some for Salem, at one of which places they all safely arrived.

When the aforesaid exploits were done by the Indians about Casco-Bay, several of the English removed to Jewel's island, where they hoped to be more secure from the Indians, but the barbarous enemy finding so little resistance made against them on the main land, a considerable party of them came with their canoes to destroy the island also, about three weeks after the aforementioned mischiefs.

There was a fortified house upon the said island, where the English that either kept upon the said island, or repaired thither, hoped to secure themselves. But at the time the Indians assaulted the place, many of the English were absent, and few left in the garrison but women and children.

Some were gone to other places to fetch Indian corn, others were in a boat employed about fish, amongst whom was one Richard Pots with two more. The wife of the said Pots was washing by the water side, where she was surprized with her children, and carried away in sight of her husband, who was not a little distressed with that sad spectacle, but was incapable of affording any relief either to his wife or children. One of these little innocents, espying his father in the boat, ran into the water, calling out for help: but an Indian was running after him to catch him up; the poor man in great agony, being within half a gun shot, was about to fire upon the Indian, but fearing he might wound or perhaps kill his child, which the villian had seized and was crrrying off, he forbore, choosing rather to have him carried away alive than expose him to the loss of his life or limbs, by shooting at the Indian.

The Indians how barbarous soever in their own nature, yet civilly treated their prisoners, and upon farther discourse sent one or two of them to Piscataqua, to give them there an opportunity to ransom their friends. The persons sent home to procure a ransom, were to return with such a quantity of goods as the Indians had desired, by such a precise time: but they that brought the things for their ransom, coming a day or two before the time, when those that sent them were gone up the river at Black-Point, and not returned: Some other Indians

waiting for such an opportunity, seized the goods, at least that part which they most desired, and through mistake, killing one of the three men that brought them, dismissed the other two, without return of the prisoners.

As to what happened afterwards, we are yet much in the dark, and for the present can write but by guess: for within a few days after the return of Mr. Gondal, and the other man that went to carry the ransom, before the 1st of November, Mugg himself came to Piscataqua; one of the prisoners along with him complaining that without his knowledge some of the Indians had seized what was sent for the ransom of the rest, promising upon his faith, that he would make good his word for the sending home all the prisoners, and offered also in the name of the other Indians to confirm a new peace with the English for the future. The Major General of the Massachusetts colony was then at Piscataqua, but not willing to transact a matter of that nature and moment by his sole authority, ordered the said Mugg (supposed to be the chief leader of the Indians) to be carried down to Boston, to the Governor and Council there, to conclude the business, with whom he soon after agreed upon a firm peace with the English of the Massachusetts, in the name of Madockawando the Chief of all the Indians in the eastern parts about Penobscot, engaging also to remain himself as hostage, aboard the

vessel, in which he was sent home, until the prisoners (which are said to be 50 or 60, that they have still in their hands) be sent home, and the rest of the articles performed; the issue of which we as yet wait to hear in God's good time, this 12th day of December following, 1676, when they there have made an end of the reckoning, it is hoped we may have our right again.

Things were so ordered that by the good Providence of God, that the two vessels arrived safely at Penobscot in the beginning of the next month, where they found the said Modockawando, who was ready to confirm and make good the articles of the peace concluded at Boston by his agent in his name; and was willing also to deliver all his prisoners that were then in his power, or under his command, which were but eleven, who were taken in the vessel at Richmond's island, the 12th of October last. The said Mugg likewise being sensible of the obligation he lay under to make his word good, did venture to go up himself to another plantation of the Indians, where was supposed some more of the English prisoners were, to see whether he could obtain their release, as also to persuade the rest of the Indians thereabouts to join in the confirmation of the peace; It appeared to the persons belonging to the vessels, that the said Mugg went with some reluctancy, as fearing the Indians he was going amongst, would either kill him

or keep him prisoner; to which end, he ordered the commanders belonging to the vessel, to tarry for him about three days, or four at the most, assuring them, that if he did not return by that time, they might certainly conclude that either his life or liberty was taken from him; however, the vessels tarried about or near a week beyond the time limited, in expectation of his coming; but after so long stay, they neither seeing nor hearing from him were ready to fear the worst, viz. that his countrymen had made him sure, from having more to do with the English; whereupon for fear of being shut up by the sharpness of the winter from returning themselves, they took the opportunity of the next fair wind, of setting sail for Boston (only turning into Pommaquid, to see if they could hear any farther news there) where they arrived with such prisoners as were freely delivered by Madockawando, the 25th of December following, anno 1676; amongst which prisoners, besides the two aforementioned, who were found at Penobscot, there was a third, by a more remarkable Providence than ordinary, added unto them, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, son of that reverend and worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, pastor of the church at Ipswich, a town within the Massachusetts jurisdiction.

Amongst all the prisoners at that time taken, the said Thomas Cobbet seemed to have had the

hardest portion ; for besides the desperate dangers that he escaped, before he was taken, first by a bullet shot through his waiscoat ; secondly by a drunken Indian, who had a knife at his throat to cut it, when his hands were bound, when the Indians came to share the prisoners amongst them, he fell into the hands of one of the ruggedest fellows by whom within a few days after his surprizal, he was carried first from Black-Point to Sheepscot river, in the ketch, which the Indians made to sail in, in the said river, from whence he was forced to travel with his Pateroon, four or five miles over land, to Damariscottee, where he was compelled to row or paddle a canoe, about fifty or sixty miles farther to Penobscot, and there taking leave of all his English friends and acquaintance, at least for the winter, he was put to paddle a canoe up fifty or sixty miles farther eastward, to an island called Mount-Desert, where his Pateroon used to keep his winter station, and to appoint his hunting voyages ; and in that desert-like condition was the poor young man forced to continue nine weeks in the service of a savage miscreant, who sometimes would tyrannize over him, because he could not understand his language, and for want thereof might occasion him to miss his game, or the like. Whatever sickness he was subject to, by chance of diet, or on any other account, he could expect no other allowance that the wigwam will afford ; If Joseph be in

the prison, so long as God is with him there, he shall be preserved, and in due time remembered.

After the end of the nine weeks, the Indian whom he was to serve, had spent all his powder, whereupon on a sudden he took a resolution to send this young man down to Penobscot to Mr. Casteen, to procure more powder to kill moose and deer, which it seems is all their way of living at Mount-Desert; the Indians was certainly over-ruled by divine Providence, in sending his captive down thither, for a few days before, as it seems, after the Indians in that place had been powawing together, he told him, that there were two English vessels then come into Pemmaquid, or Penobscot, which indeed proved so; yet was it not by him indeed surely when he sent his captive thither for powder, for it proved the means of his escape, which his Pateroon might easily have conjectured, if it had not been hid from him. As soon as he arrived at Penobscot, he met with Mugg, who presently saluted him by the name of Mr. Cobbet, and taking him by the hand, told him he had been at his father's house (which was the 1st or 2d of Nov. before, as he passed through Ipswich to Boston) and had promised to send him home, as soon as he returned. Madockawando taking notice of what Mugg was speaking that way, although he was willing that he should be released according to agreement (his Pateroon being one of this Sagamore's subjects, though during the hunting voyage

of the winter, he lived at such a distance from him) began to demand something or satisfaction in a way of ransom, not understanding before that his father was a great preachman, as they use to call it: Reply was made him, that he should have something in lieu of a ransom, viz. a fine coat which they had for him on board the vessel; which the Sagamore desired to see, before he would absolutely grant a release; but upon sight of the said coat he seemed very well satisfied, and gave him free liberty to return home.

No farther news came to hand concerning the English prisoners at Kennebeck, after the return of Capt. Moor from Penobscot, till the 5th of January; when one Francis Card with another young man, formerly an inhabitant of some place about Kennebeck, or of Arowsick (but then a prisoner with the Indians) made an escape from them and got over to Casco-Bay, and then to Black-Point, from thence he was conveyed to Piscataqua and soon after to Boston.

The manner of his escape, as he reports, was this: He was employed by the Indians to thresh corn at a barn a little lower in the river, than the place where the Indians commonly kept; being trusted alone, to go and come of himself, because here was no suspicion of any coming to carry him away, or seeming possibility to get away without

being discovered, he found means to plot with another young man, who was sent to look after horses; whose flesh it seems is by those wild savages, preferred before the best beef, so that having their choice of both, they took what they liked best. This being the employment of the young man, he had the better opportunity when he was in the woods to make a contrivance to get away. Thus being resolved upon their design, they provided necessaries accordingly, and sent such a message home to their masters, as might occasion them not to expect them very soon that night. Thus resolved, they marched away as soon as the coast was clear; and having provided a canoe accordingly fit for the purpose, by the help of which they got over the water, without being discerned; so that within two or three days they happily recovered the fort and garrison house at Black-Point, from which place they were soon conveyed away to Boston.

He reported that the Indians spake nothing of any peace; but finding so easy work of their former exploits, they were contriving how to get possession of the other places in the hands of the English on that side of the country, which God forbid should come to pass.

These things so concurring, and several gentlemen from about Piscataqua repairing to Boston,

so represented the state of things eastward before the Governor and Council, that it was apprehended not only necessary, but feasible also to suppress the aforesaid Indians in those parts: Whereupon it was forthwith concluded necessary that an expedition should be made against them; to which end 200 soldiers, whereof about 60 were of the Natick Indians, who had given good proof of their valour and faithfulness to the English; all which were immediately dispatched away the first week in February, by water, under the conduct of Major Waldern, as commander in chief; a person well approved for his activity, as well as fidelity and courage in matters of this nature. They had to encounter with rough and contrary winds, and much cold weather the first week after their setting out.

The following is an accurate account of the expedition.

February 17, we set sail with our vessels from Black-Point, for Portland, on one side of Cape-Elizabeth, we espyed John Pain (who was sent out a scout) who brought word the way was clear of ice and Indians; whereupon we steered for Mary-Point, at the head of Casco-Bay, and got there this night.

February 24th the Major with two boats and a shallop went to spy out a place to settle a garrison, and found one against the lower end of Arowsick island, and the vessels are brought to it.

Next day, according to the advice of the commanders, Major Waldern embarked sixty men in two vessels, with which he set sail immediately for Penobscot, leaving the rest to be employed in making preparation for settling a garrison in the said place.

In their way off from Gyobscut-Point, they espied two Indians in a canoe, that waved their caps, as if they desired to speak with them. John Pain and Walter Gendol were presently sent; they gave them intelligence that many Indians were at Pemmaquid with English captives, upon which they bent their course thither; where arriving, they anchored at four o'clock the same day; soon after two Indians hallowed to them from Mr. Gardner's fort. John Pain was sent ashore to enquire who they were, and what was become of the captives. Sundry forts of Indians were found upon the place, with several Sagamores, the chief of whom, was Mattahando, who told them he was glad to see English men there, and that he desired peace, and promised to deliver such captives as were at Penobscot, the next morning; adding also, that he desired to speak with Capt. Davis. Af-

ter John Pain returned to the Major, he was sent back with the said Davis, and stayed ashore till three Sagamores went on board, and signified as much to Major Waldern, as they had said before to John Pain. While they were in discourse, an English captive was espyed in a canoe with his Pateroon, with whom they desired to speak, but it was not granted at that time, he being carried farther up the river out of sight.

Soon after the Major went on shore with six men, yet carrying no arms with them. He found their words smother than oil, yet were there drawn swords in their hearts, of which some of their actions gave no small ground of suspicion; for they deferred all till the next morning; nor were willing to let the man that was espyed before in the canoe come on board to see his friends without leaving a hostage in his room, of which the Major was very glad, that he might have an opportunity of a little discourse with one whom they might trust. When they returned from the shore, a sign was promised to be given for the appearance of the Indians by the firing of three guns.

The next morning, Feb. 27th, the Major with the same number as before, went to treat with them, they with John Pain, first hallowing to them: Upon their coming on shore their persons were searched on both sides, and all arms laid aside.

The whole forenoon was spent in a treaty, whereat they seemed much to rejoice in expectation of a peace with the English; yet when Major Waldern desired a present delivery of captives, with assistance of men and canoes to fight the Monoscoggin Indians, enemies to them both, it was denied, though they could not have had a better testimony of their fidelity.

They alledged that the captives were given them by the Kennebeck Indians, and they must have something for keeping them all winter, and therefore were not willing to let them go without a ransom; and as for their canoes, they said they had them in service, being then bound for Penobscot. The price demanded, twelve skins a person, was yielded to; upon which they delivered William Chadburn, John Winnick, and John Worwood, which were all they would own, or could be proved they had.

That part of the pay which was to be in liquor, was presently laid down, the rest was promised to be sent in the afternoon. The commanders debated what was farther to be done; one or two of the old Sagamores, who were believed, seemed sincere about the peace, professed that none of them had any hand in the war, but only some of their young men, whom they could not rule; but several of the company affirming they saw some

of the said Indians at Casco engaged in hostility against the English, it was resolved not to enter into any league of peace with them, but rather to fight them, or surprize them after they had dispatched the business about the captives.

This being determined, the Major with five of his men went on shore, with part of the ransom, the better to beget a confidence in them, and then to return on board again and fit his men for further service; but if he had not wisely provided against all exigences beforehand, he might have been prevented from ever going on board any more, for stepping aside a rod or two from the place for better circumspection, he espied the point of a lance from under a board, hid there, as were other arms near by, for a treacherous design that was in their minds, soon after, upon the receiving the pay to have been put in execution. Whereupon Major Waldern took up the lance and came towards them, charging them with falsehood and treachery, for hiding weapons just by wherewith to destroy them as soon as they had delivered the goods. The Indians discovered their guilt by their countenances, some of them making towards him, thinking to get the weapon out of his hands; but he bid them stand off, threatning to kill every one that offered to touch them; and immediately waved his cap over his head (which was the sign agreed upon for all

the soldiers to come on shore in time of need) upon which token the soldiers all hasted away. In the mean time the English that went on shore to wait upon the Major, were forced to bestir themselves, both to secure the goods from being carried away, and to defend Major Waldern. Some of the Squaws, with others of the enemy ran away ; one of them caught up a bundle of guns that were hid near by, and ran off with them. Capt. Frost seized an Indian called Megunnaway, a notorious rogue that had been in arms at Connecticut last June, at the falls, and saw the brave and resolute Capt. Turner, when he was slain above Green-River ; and helped to kill Thomas Bracket at Casco in August last, and with the help of Lieut. Nutter, according to the Major's order, carried him on board, while himself searching about farther, found three guns hid in a cow-house just at hand, wherewith he armed the other three men that were with him. By this time some of the soldiers were got ashore, and instantly according to the Major's command, pursued the enemy towards their canoes ; in the chase several of the enemy were slain, whose bodies were found at their return to the number of seven, amongst whom was Mattahaudo the Sagamore, with an old Powaw, to whom the Devil had revealed as he sometimes did to Saul, that on the same day he should be with him ; for he had a little before told the Indians,

that within two days the English would come and kill them all, which was at the very same time verified upon himself. The body of our men overtook them before they all recovered their canoes, so that without doubt, divers others of them were slain likewise, for they sunk a canoe, wherein were five drowned before their eyes, and many others were not able to paddle; four they took prisoners, whom they brought away with them. There was about twenty-five Indians present at this encounter.

Much more damage might then have been done by our men upon the enemy, if they had known the most direct way to their canoes; but the Indians having prepared all things ready for flight, as well as for fight, the more easily made their escape. One of the captives was sister to Madockawando, who was entertained very courteously by the Commander in Chief, and would have been carried forthwith to her brother, in hopes by her means to have gained the better terms for our remaining English captives, had it not been certainly known that he was gone from home upon a hunting design, and not to return in two months.

The English took much plunder from the Indians, about a thousand weight of dried beef with other things. Megunnaway was shot to death

the same day or the next ; so that justice is by degrees pursuing those perfidious villians, and one after another they brought under the wheel of destruction. Simeon, that arch traitor, seems is said, by his consumptive looks, to have received the sentence of death, which may bring him into the same place or state with the rest.

Feb. 28th they set sail for Sheepscot, but the wind failing, they put in at Kennebeck, from whence Capt. Fick with 40 men were sent to the said place to seek plunder, where they found between 30 and 40 bushels of good wheat, which they brought away with them ; several other things they lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away, such as one or two great guns, some anchors from Sagadahock, and boards from Arowsick, where they found a hundred thousand foot, of which they brought home enough for the landing of their vessels, leaving the rest to be transported in a more convenient season.

March 1st, one of the Indians squaws, a captive, was sent to Taconnet fort, with a message to the Sagamores to treat for the rest of the captives. Five days were given her to return, which were not expired, when Major Walden, with most of the soldiers were called to return home towards Boston, where they arrived the 11th of March, 1676—7, having first put in at Portsmouth ; bring-

ing along with them the bones, or rather the body of Capt. Lake preserved entire and whole, and free from putrefaction by the coldness of the long winter.

This day letters were received from Springfield, but without mention of any appearance of the enemy in that quarter; whereby we are encouraged to believe, they they have stumbled and fallen down backward, so that they shall never rise any more to make farther disturbance. That which crowned the present service was the performing it without loss of blood; all safely returning. Let them accordingly remember to pay a suitable tribute of thankfulness to him, under whose banner they went forth and returned in safety.

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